Pictorial History of the World's Great Nations

1125
STRAND PRICE
$5.00

R. H. McIntosh
2 J. J. Monmouth St
A. M. M.
Jersey City
N. J.

A

Pictorial History

OF

THE WORLD'S GREAT NATIONS

FROM THE EARLIEST DATES TO THE PRESENT TIME.

BY

CHARLOTTE M. YONGE,

Author of "The Heir of Redcliff," "Book of Golden Deeds," etc.

[THE HISTORY OF AMERICA, BY JOHN A. DOYLE.]

"Segnius irritant animum demissa per aures, quam quæ sunt oculis subjecta fidelibus."

"Things seen by the trustworthy eye, more deeply impress the mind than those which are merely heard."

VOL. V.

NEW YORK:

SELMAR HESS.

COPYRIGHTED, 1882, BY SELMAR HESS.

Electrotyped by
SMITH & McDOUGAL,
82 Beekman Street.

Printed by
D. G. F. CLASS,
17 & 19 Rose Street

CONTENTS OF VOLUME V.

AMERICAN HISTORY—(CONTINUED).

CHAPTER		PAGE
IX.	NEW ENGLAND AFTER THE REVOLUTION	945
X.	MARYLAND	959
XI.	NEW YORK	967
XII.	THE CAROLINAS	977
XIII.	THE QUAKER COLONIES	983
XIV.	THE SETTLEMENT OF GEORGIA, AND THE SPANISH WAR	991
XV.	THE CONQUEST OF CANADA AND THE OHIO VALLEY	1000
XVI.	GENERAL VIEW OF THE THIRTEEN COLONIES	1011
XVII.	THE STAMP ACT AND THE TEA ACT	1016
XVIII.	THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE	1028
XIX.	THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE	1038
XX.	THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION	1057
XXI.	THE WAR WITH GREAT BRITAIN	1072
XXII.	SOUTH CAROLINA AND NULLIFICATION	1086
XXIII.	GROWING OPPOSITION BETWEEN THE NORTH AND SOUTH	1093
XXIV.	THE SOUTHERN CONFEDERACY	1102
XXV.	THE WAR OF SECESSION	1110
XXVI.	GENERAL VIEW OF THE COUNTRY AFTER THE WAR	1142

APPENDIX.

I.	THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE SOUTH	1147
II.	GRANT'S ADMINISTRATION	1159
III.	CONCILIATION AND PROGRESS	1174

FULL PAGE ILLUSTRATIONS.

VOLUME V.

PAGE

PENN'S TREATY WITH INDIANS 989

PAUL REVERE'S RIDE 1029

CONTINENTAL SOLDIER 1033

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE 1038

WINTER CAMP AT VALLEY FORGE 1044

THE PRAYER AT VALLEY FORGE 1048

MORGAN'S RIFLEMAN 1057

MARTHA WASHINGTON'S RECEPTION 1068

BATTLE MONUMENT 1082

CONQUEST OF MEXICO 1097

DEPARTURE FOR THE WAR 1110

SIGNING THE EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION 1127

VIEW OF CENTENNIAL BUILDINGS 1171

GARFIELD 1180

CHAPTER IX.

NEW ENGLAND AFTER THE REVOLUTION.

THE charter just mentioned left some important points unsettled. It did not definitely decide whether the Acts of the English Parliament were to be in all cases binding on the colony, nor did it say whether the English Parliament had any power of taxing the colonists. The Court of Massachusetts tried to decide this latter point in their own favor. In 1692 they passed an Act declaring that no tax should be levied in the colony without the consent of the Court. To this law the English government refused its assent. If it had passed, it would have saved many quarrels between the colonists and their governors, in which the latter were always worsted, and it might have even prevented the separation of the colonies eighty-four years later. Connecticut soon found itself in opposition to the English government. Colonel Fletcher, the Governor of New York, had a commission from the Crown giving him the command of the Connecticut militia. He did not wish to use this himself, but merely to assert his right, and then to transfer the commission to the Governor of Connecticut. The Court of Connecticut objected to this, and contended that such a commission was contrary to their charter. Fletcher entered the country to enforce his commission. Captain Wadsworth, the same man who was said to have hidden the charter, was in command of the militia. When Fletcher ordered his commission to be read, Wadsworth commanded the drums to beat, so that no one could hear the commission. Fletcher ordered them to stop, whereupon Wadsworth threatened him with violence. A mob soon assembled, and Fletcher thought it prudent to retreat. It seems strange that he should have suffered himself to be so easily baffled, yet he does not appear to have made any further attempt to enforce his orders. But though he did not succeed in appointing an officer in Connecticut, he still had the right of giving orders as commander-in-chief; and the people of Connecticut declared that he revenged himself by issuing troublesome and harassing orders.

New Hampshire soon afterwards showed a like spirit of independence. Allen, the new governor, got into a dispute with several persons, who had settled on the lands that he claimed. The New Hampshire Court decided against him. He then appealed to the king. The Colonial government refused to admit this appeal, but their refusal was overruled by the king.

In 1697 Lord Bellamont was appointed Governor of New York, Massachusetts, and New Hampshire. He was sensible, conciliatory, and popular; but, unhappily, he died in 1700, little more than a year after his arrival. During his governorship the Board of Trade, to which the management of colonial affairs had been handed over, sent out a letter warning him against the desire of the colonists for independence, and especially dwelling on their misconduct in not allowing appeals to the king. Bellamont was succeeded by Joseph Dudley, who had been governor under James II. He was soon engaged in disputes with the Assembly, in all of which he was worsted. He claimed the right of annulling the election of a councillor. Nevertheless the councillor kept his seat. In 1705 Dudley laid before the Assembly two points, on which he had special instructions from the English government. These were: 1. The establishment of two forts, one on the Piscataqua, the other at Pemaquid, a spot on the coast near Acadia: 2. The allotment by the Court of a fixed salary to the Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, and Judges. The Assembly refused to entertain either of these proposals; the former, because the forts would be useless to the colony; the latter, because the means of the colonists varied from time to time, and because it was the right of English subjects to raise by their own votes such sums of money as might be wanted. Dudley gave way on both points. He seems to have been a time-serving man, but not without regard for his fellow-countrymen, and with nothing of the tyrant in his nature, and so to have lacked both the wish and the power to constrain the settlers. Moreover, he was suspected of various acts of dishonesty, and so perhaps felt himself in the power of the Assembly.

Before going further, it will be well to speak of some important matters which happened during the governorship of Dudley and his two predecessors. The New Englanders, like most people in those days, believed in witchcraft, and more than one person in the colony had been accused of it and put to death. The most noted case was that of an old woman, a Mrs. Hibbins, whose brother and husband had held high offices in Massachusetts, and who was hanged as a witch in 1656. In 1692 a panic seized the colony. Some children persuaded themselves that they were bewitched. The matter was taken up by one Cotton Mather, a minister. His father, Increase Mather, also a minister, was one of the ablest and boldest of those who had opposed Charles II. and James II. in their dealings with Massachusetts. The son Cotton was a vain, pushing man, with some learning, but no wisdom. Encouraged by him and another influential minister, Parris, the children accused upwards of seventy people, many of them of high station and unblemished character. The whole colony was carried away by the panic, and twenty people were put to death on utterly trumpery evidence. This madness, for such it seemed, went away as suddenly as it came. In 1692, when

fifty people were brought up for trial, all but three were acquitted, and these three were pardoned by the governor. Some of the children afterwards confessed that they had done wrong, but neither Mather nor Parris ever showed any sign of repentance. This affair seems to have done something to weaken the influence of the ministers in Massachusetts, and for the future we hear much less of them in public affairs.

The accession of William III. at once engaged the New England colonists in war with the French settlers in Canada. They had for a long while been growing into dangerous neighbors. At this time their regular settlements were confined to the peninsula of Acadia, the island of Cape Breton,

Rapids of the St. Lawrence

and the north side of the river St. Lawrence, as far as Montreal. All the land between the northern frontier of New England and the St. Lawrence, now called Maine and New Brunswick, seems to have been then uninhabited. Thus between the English and French settlements was a belt of wild forest, about two hundred miles broad, inhabited only by savages. The whole population of the French settlements at this time was less than twelve thousand, while that of New England and New York together was about one hundred thousand. The chief resource of the French settlers was the fur trade with the Indians. That which really might have been the most valuable part of their possession, Acadia, was utterly neglected, and only contained some five hundred settlers. Although it lay conveniently for the New-

foundland fisheries, and also for an attack on New England, it was bandied backwards and forwards between England and France. In 1654 Cromwell took it from the French; Charles II. restored it by the treaty of Breda to France; and, as we shall see, it changed hands three times in the next eighty years. From 1628 to 1663 the French colony was under the control of a company. Under this system the settlers fared so ill, and were so hard pressed by the Indians, that they would at one time have abandoned the country but for the energy of the Jesuit missionaries. In 1663 the company were so disheartened by the poor results that they surrendered the colony to the king. He handed it over to the French West India Company for a time, and afterwards sent out a governor, the Marquis of Tracy, who by his energy and courage drove back the hostile Indians, and saved the colony from destruction. From that time things seem to have gone on somewhat better. The settlements gradually extended westward up the St. Lawrence, and in 1671 a pillar bearing a cross and the French arms was set up at the Falls of St. Mary, between Lake Superior and Lake Huron. Unlike the New England settlers, who stood aloof from the Indians and lived together in compact settlements, the French established small outposts in the Indian country, which were at once forts, trading-houses, and mission stations. The Jesuit missionaries were generally in charge of those stations, and braved every danger and underwent all hardships in the hope of converting the Indians. At the same time they seem to have done little towards controlling their converts, and even to have encouraged them in their raids on the English and on their Indian enemies. The French settlers, living in this way in scattered groups among the Indians, learned to suit themselves to their ways, and married among them; and thus acquired far more influence over them than the English ever did. It is even said that Count Frontenac, a French nobleman, the governor of Canada just before the invasion of New England, went among the Indians and joined in their war-dance, like one of their own chiefs. Luckily for the English, the French settlers were somewhat unfortunate in their choice of Indian allies. The natives whom they first met with were the Hurons and the Abenaquis. Both these tribes seem to have been enemies to the Mohawks, who were much the stronger race. Thus from the outset the French were on bad terms with the most powerful of all the Indian tribes.

Though there was no open hostility between the French and English settlers before 1688, there were disputes about boundaries. For, though their settlements were separated by a tract of wilderness, each nation asserted its right to lands beyond those which it actually occupied, and the French, as they spread towards the west, were accused of encroaching on the territory of New York. Each nation too suspected the other of underhand designs. One Castine, a French baron, had an outlying station at the

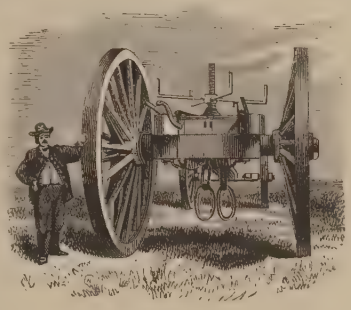
mouth of the Penobscot. Here he lived like a savage chief, with several Indian wives. He, it was thought, had supplied Philip with arms and ammunition during his war with New England. The French made like complaints against the inhabitants of New York. In 1687 a treaty was signed between France and England whereby it was agreed that the colonists of the two nations should keep the peace towards each other, and that neither should assist the Indians in their attacks on the other. This treaty was not likely to have much effect, as it was impossible for either side to restrain their Indian allies, and their misconduct might at any time give a pretext for war. In the same year the governor of Canada treacherously seized a number of Mohawk chiefs at a conference, and shipped them to France for galley slaves. The Mohawks retaliated by invading Canada. They were assisted, it is said, in this invasion by Dongan, the Governor of New York. In revenge for this the French government in 1689 sent out an expedition against New York. Frontenac, who was now appointed governor of Canada, was in command of this. He made preparations for a great attack by land and sea. The fleet, however, was hindered by storms, and Frontenac reached Canada too late in the season to do anything by land. He found his colony suffering from an attack of the Mohawks, the fiercest they had yet made. Although the French were unable to carry out their scheme against Canada this year, their allies made raids into New Hampshire and Massachusetts, and did great harm to the settlers. In this year (1689) war was declared between France and England. Accordingly in 1690 Frontenac made ready for a great invasion of the English territory. In February he sent out three parties of Indians to attack the English settlements at three different points. One attacked New York, another New Hampshire, the third Canseau, a settlement on the coast of Maine. The English did not believe that it was possible for their enemies to make their way through the forests in winter, and so were utterly unprepared. All three expeditions were successful, that against New York most so. The Indians fell on Schenectady, a frontier town of some importance, utterly destroyed it, and killed and captured about a hundred of the inhabitants. In their distress, the English colonists, at the suggestion of the Massachusetts government, held a congress of the Northern colonies. New York, Massachusetts, and Connecticut sent each two commissioners, who met at the city of New York. Maryland and Rhode Island did not send commissioners, but promised to assist in an expedition.

Look Out

It was determined to invade Canada. Nine hundred men, of whom four hundred came from New York, were sent out under Winthrop, son of the former Governor of Connecticut, to attack Montreal by land, while a fleet, with about eighteen hundred men on board, sailed against Quebec. Unluckily the Mohawks, on whose help the English had reckoned, refused to join them in any numbers. Thus the land force was unable to carry out its plan. The fleet fared no better. It was beaten off, partly by the batteries of Quebec, partly by bad weather, and the whole expedition was a failure. Its only effect was to make bad blood between the different English settlements. Leisler, the Governor of New York, a rash, hot-headed man, was so enraged that he arrested Winthrop and other leading men from Connecticut, and would have tried them at New York by court-martial but for the remonstrance of the Connecticut government. As some set-off against this, a small English fleet under Sir William Phipps conquered Acadia. It was, however, retaken the next year. For the next five years the war consisted mainly of raids on the frontiers, in which the French Indians inflicted great suffering on the English, and the Mohawks on the French. During this period the English made a change in their mode of defence. Hitherto they had relied chiefly on regular forts along the frontier. But they found that in the woods these were of little use, as the savages, who knew the country, had no difficulty in making their way between them. Accordingly they established instead small parties along the frontier, which moved from point to point and did far more service. In 1696 the French made great preparations for a general attack on New England by sea and land. But they found it impossible to victual their fleet for so long a voyage, and had to content themselves with conquering Newfoundland. In the next year the French Indians penetrated farther into the English territory than they had yet done and attacked Andover, a village only twenty-five miles from Boston. In 1697 the peace of Ryswick put an end to the war. By this peace no definite settlement was made as to the boundaries between the French and English settlements. For five years, between this peace and the declaration of war in the reign of Queen Anne, the colonies were at peace. During this time the French sought to establish an alliance with the Mohawks. In 1701 a treaty was made at Montreal by the French and three of the chief Canadian tribes, the Hurons, the Abenaquis, and the Ottawas, with the five Mohawk nations. The French, however, were too poor, and had too little trade, for their friendship to be much valued by the Mohawks. Moreover, the French could not make their own allies keep the treaty. Thus the Mohawks, except a few outlying villages, returned to their

Bomb-Shell.

alliance with the English. At the same time they were much less zealous and serviceable allies than the French Indians. The latter really valued their French allies and fought for them zealously, while the Mohawks only cared for the English as a useful check upon the French. Their policy was to have as little as possible to do with either nation, and to befriend those who were least likely to interfere with them, or to trespass on their country. Indeed, the English had so little faith in the Mohawks that, a few years later, when an English force in Canada suffered greatly from sickness, they believed that their Indian allies had poisoned the wells. In 1702 war again broke out. By land the operations were much what they had been in the previous war. Parties of savages from either side made raids across the frontier, destroying villages and carrying off prisoners. The brunt of this war fell especially on New Hampshire and Massachusetts; while New York, whose frontiers were covered by the Mohawk country, for the most part escaped. The English during this war made three attempts to recover Acadia. In 1704 a force of five hundred and fifty men was sent out in a fleet of whale-boats for this purpose, but did absolutely nothing. Three years later the attempt was renewed, and again failed. In both of these expeditions there seems to have been a general and well-founded feeling of dissatisfaction with the leaders. Indeed, it is said that, after the second, the chief officers would have been tried by court martial, but that so many were accused that there were not enough left to sit in judgment. It was thought too that many of the New Englanders secretly favored the Acadians for the sake of trading with them. Dudley himself was suspected of this, and in 1706 six leading men were prosecuted on this charge before the Court of Massachusetts and fined various sums, from eleven hundred to sixty pounds. Their sentence, however, was annulled by the Crown. In 1710 a more successful attempt was made. A force of more than three thousand men attacked Port Royal, the chief fort in Acadia. Subercas, the French commander, had only three hundred men. Moreover, he felt ill-used at the feeble support given him by the French government, and had no heart for a stout resistance, and so yielded. The English, in honor of the queen, changed the name of the place to Annapolis.



A Cannon Truck.

In the next year a great expedition was planned against Canada, A fleet of fifteen men-of-war was sent from England with five thousand soldiers. These were to be joined by two regiments of New England militia, making

the whole force up to nearly seven thousand. This army was considered fully strong enough to take Quebec. In June the Massachusetts government received orders to provide pilots and a supply of provisions for the fleet. Sixteen days later the fleet itself arrived. Considerable delay and difficulty occurred in finding supplies. The blame of this was laid by the English commander on the sloth, stinginess, and disloyalty of the New Englanders, while they, on the other hand, declared that they had done all they could, but that unfairly short notice had been given them. This probably was true. It is even said that the people of Boston were so far from being backward in the matter that many families lived wholly on salt food in order that the troops might be properly supplied. Nevertheless, the complaints found their way to England and did as much harm as if they had been true. The expedition itself was an utter failure. The fleet ran on the rocks near the mouth of the St. Lawrence, and eight or nine ships and more than a thousand men were lost. The commanders, disheartened by this, and despairing of getting up the river, returned home. The blame of the failure was laid by some on the admiral, Sir Hoveden Walker, by others on the Boston pilots. After its return the admiral's ship blew up at Spithead, and his papers, which might have helped to clear up the affair, were lost. One advantage had ensued from this expedition. It had withheld the French from an attempt to recover Annapolis, and as the English garrison there was weak, such an attempt would probably have succeeded. In 1713 peace was signed at Utrecht. This peace gave Acadia to England, but it did not determine what the north-east boundary of Acadia should be; consequently the unoccupied country between the Kennebec and the St. Lawrence was still left to be a future source of dispute. In one way this war did a great deal to bring the colonies into discredit with the mother country. The frontier warfare, in which the colonists showed great courage and defended their country successfully, was scarcely heard of by the English. It was not marked by any brilliant exploits, and thus little or nothing was known of it in England. But the regular attacks on the French coast all came under the notice of the English government, and the colonists were blamed, not only for their own

A Lighthouse.

shortcomings, but for the failures of the English commanders. Thus they got an ill name in England for slackness and disloyalty, and even cowardice, which their general conduct throughout the war in no way deserved.

The peace of Utrecht did not end the war with the Indians. The settlers on the frontier suffered so much that, about this time, the New Hampshire government offered a reward of one hundred pounds for an Indian prisoner, or the scalp of an Indian. One French settlement was specially obnoxious to the English. This was an outpost called Norridgewock, about three days' march from the northern frontier of Massachusetts. This was managed by Sebastian Rallé, a Jesuit, one of the bravest and most successful of the French missionaries. He built a chapel there, and got together a congregation of sixty Indians, whom he regularly trained to take part in the services of the Church. He does not, however, seem to have attempted to restrain their ferocity against the English, but rather to have inflamed it, and was said to have even abetted their cruelties with his own hands. In 1722 a party from New England destroyed the settlement. Rallé fled, leaving his goods and papers in their hands. Next year another attack was made, in which he was killed. In 1725 the Court of Massachusetts proposed that commissioners should be sent from the five English colonies north of the Hudson to remonstrate with the governor of Canada on his conduct in aiding the Indians. New Hampshire alone consented. A deputation was sent to Canada, and at the same time the English began to treat with the Indians. The French governor, the Marquis of Vaudreuil, said that the Indians merely fought in defence of their own lands, and not in obedience to him. The English then produced letters found at Norridgewock, which proved the contrary. They also brought forward an Indian whom the governor had furnished with arms and ammunition to be used against the English. The governor tried to make excuses, but the deputies stood their ground, and their firmness withheld him from any attempt to break off the negotiations between the English and the Indians. In 1725 peace was made at Falmouth. The English promised to abolish all private trade, and to establish trading-houses under the control of the Massachusetts government, where the Indians would be supplied better and more cheaply than by private traders. Thus, after more than thirty years of war, the New England frontier enjoyed a long term of peace. This long struggle had a great effect in accustoming the New Englanders to all the shifts and dangers of war in a savage country. Every one on the New England frontiers had to be perforce a soldier. It would be endless to tell all the feats of daring performed by the settlers. Even the women learned to use weapons and face dangers and accomplish exploits, which would have shown no little courage, even if done by men. One woman, Hannah Dustin, was carried off by the Indians with a young lad. In the night, while the Indians slept, the prisoners rose,

killed and scalped the whole party, save two, and made their way back to the English settlement. One village was attacked while all the men were away. The women dressed themselves in men's coats and hats, lest the weakness of the place should be known, and kept up so hot a fire that the Indians retreated. One undoubtedly evil effect was produced by these wars. Just as in the case of Philip's war, the colonists became so infuriated against the Indians that they scarcely distinguished between friend and foe. Thus, in New Hampshire, it was for many years impossible to get any jury to convict an Englishman for the murder of an Indian.

For some years after the Revolution, the New England charters seemed to be in danger. In 1701 a bill was brought forward in Parliament for withdrawing them. This, however, fell through. Three years later, the proposal was renewed. Connecticut, having the most liberal charter, was naturally the most alarmed. The other colonies seem to have taken the matter more quietly, and the Connecticut charter was made the chief subject of contest. Dudley, the Governor of Massachusetts, and Lord Cornbury, the Governor of New York, were its chief opponents. Dudley was a personal enemy to many of the chief men in Connecticut, and Lord Cornbury had been refused four hundred and fifty pounds which he had demanded from Connecticut for the defence of his own colony. The government of Connecticut was accused of harboring pirates and other criminals; of setting at naught the laws of England and disobeying the queen's officers; of refusing to contribute to the defence of New England, and of robbing some Indians of their land. Luckily for the colony, Sir Henry Ashurst, its agent in England, was a man of great energy. By his representations and those of the counsel whom he employed, Connecticut was cleared of all the charges brought against it. Ten years later the charters were again threatened. They were defended by Jeremiah Dummer, a leading citizen of Massachusetts, a man of moderate views, who was afterwards Lieutenant-Governor. He represented that the loss of the charters and the consequent danger of arbitrary government would be a great blow to the welfare of the colonies; that anything which weakened the colonies would also affect the West Indies, which obtained many of their supplies thence, and so would injure the mother country. He laughed at the idea of some who fancied that the colonists were aiming at independence, and said that it would be as reasonable to set two of the king's beef-eaters to keep a baby from getting out of its cradle and doing mischief as to guard against a rebellion in America. His arguments prevailed, and the attack on the charters was abandoned.

In 1715, Dudley was succeeded in the governorship of Massachusetts by Colonel Shute. During his term of office and that of the two next Governors, the history of Massachusetts is one long series of contests between the Governor and the Assembly. The chief subject of these disputes was

the steadfast refusal of the Assembly to grant the Governor a fixed salary. They insisted on voting him such a sum as they thought fit from year to year, and so making him dependent on them. There were besides smaller subjects of difference which helped to embitter matters. The contest about the salary had, as we have seen, begun in the time of Dudley. He failed to carry his point. For the first four years of Shute's government things went on quietly. In 1720 he claimed the right of rejecting a Speaker chosen by the Assembly. They resisted, but at length so far gave way as to elect another Speaker. At the same time they reduced the Governor's half-yearly salary from six hundred to five hundred pounds. Shute passed over this without notice, but, when it was repeated, he told them that he had orders from the Crown to obtain a fixed salary. The Assembly asked leave to postpone the question, and the Governor granted this. The next year the Assembly refused to vote any salaries till they knew whether the Governor had given his consent to the Acts which they had passed. When they had done their business they asked leave to rise, but the Governor refused to allow this. They then rose without leave. The Council voted this an irregular proceeding. When they next met, they got into a high dispute. The small-pox broke out at Boston, and it was unsafe for the Assembly to meet there. Accordingly they decided to meet elsewhere. The Governor considered this an encroachment on his rights. He did not wish to force them to sit in Boston, but he objected to the matter being taken out of his hands. Soon after this he produced letters from the English government, approving of his conduct about the election of a Speaker. The Assembly still asserted its right, and there the matter rested. In 1728, Shute was succeeded by William Burnet, whose father, Gilbert Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury, had been a well-known writer and a leading supporter of William III. The new Governor was received with great pomp and every expression of good-will. Nevertheless, the representatives were as firm as before in the matter of the salary. To show that this was not done out of any personal ill-will to Burnet, they voted him a grant of seventeen hundred pounds. This he refused, and insisted on a fixed salary. The Council tried to take a middle course, and proposed that a fixed salary should be granted, but for a limited time. The Assembly, however, refused even this concession. In their own defence they drew up a paper setting forth their reasons. The principal of these were, that it was "the undoubted right of all Englishmen by Magna Charta to raise and dispose of money for the public service of their own free accord without compulsion," and that it might "be deemed a betraying of the rights and privileges granted in the charter." Burnet answered that to admit the claims of the Assembly would throw the whole government into their hands. Moreover, he said that it had never been considered unsafe in England to give the

king an income for life. To this the Assembly answered that there was a great difference between the king, who had a permanent interest in the welfare of his subjects, and a governor, who only came for a time. They pleaded, too, that it was impossible for them to usurp the whole government of the colony so long as the Governor and Council had each power to refuse their consent to laws. About this time the Assembly of Barbadoes was engaged in a like contest with the Governor there, and their example possibly served to encourage the people of Massachusetts. Things now came to a dead-lock. The Governor refused to dissolve the Assembly, and they were obliged to sit on, greatly to their inconvenience, while he would not take any money granted, since it did not come in the form of a fixed salary. The Assembly now resolved to lay their case before the English government, and sent over two agents. The question was then brought before the Privy Council, which strongly supported Burnet, and advised that Parliament should attend to the matter. This, however, does not seem to have been done, or if it was, nothing came of it. In 1729 Burnet died. In spite of these disputes, the colonists liked and esteemed him, and the Assembly ordered a very honorable funeral at the public charge. His successor, Belcher, had been one of the two agents sent over by the Assembly to plead their cause in England. The English government probably thought that his appointment would conciliate the colonists. At first it seemed likely to do so, and he was received with great joy. But it soon became clear that the old strife was to be renewed. The Assembly, as before, refused to vote a fixed salary. It was not easy for Belcher to fight successfully for a cause which he had once opposed. Moreover, he weakened his own position by his unfair conduct in some appointments to offices. In the next year Belcher gave way, and asked the English government to allow him to accept the money granted him by the Assembly. Hitherto the Crown had ordered the Governor to get a fixed salary or take nothing. This was now so far relaxed that Belcher was allowed to take the grant, although he was ordered still to demand the salary. By this concession the English government acknowledged itself defeated, and in a few years afterwards it yielded altogether. Thus the Assembly carried the point for which they had been struggling for twenty-six years. Throughout these contests with the different governors, Boston was always the chief stronghold of the colonial party. The influence of that party, therefore, was somewhat weakened by a law passed in 1694 that no man should represent any town in which he did not dwell. Thus the outlying towns which might otherwise have chosen eminent men from Boston, were obliged to put up with inferior men of their own, and only two of the leaders of the party at Boston could find seats in the Assembly. But, though in one way this weakened the influence of the Assembly, it must have made it more attentive to the wants of the smaller

towns, and kept Boston from gaining an undue share of power, which it might otherwise have done.

Belcher's dismissal from the governorship was brought about by means in nowise creditable to his enemies. Letters containing various charges against him were sent to England; some of these were anonymous, others were forged in the names of leading men in Massachusetts. The charges were at length cleared up, but they did Belcher no little harm with the English government. His final dismissal, if the story of it be true, as it probably is, was disgraceful to all concerned. The ministry in England were very anxious that a certain member, Lord Euston, should be elected for Coventry. The dissenters were very strong in that town. One of the Massachusetts agents promised the prime minister, the Duke of Grafton, that he would secure Lord Euston's return on condition that Belcher was dismissed. This offer was accepted. The agent then told the Coventry dissenters that, if they secured Lord Euston's election, Belcher, who was trying to get the Church of England established in Massachusetts, and who was hostile to the Nonconformists, should be dismissed. The agreement was carried out on both sides.

Under Belcher's successor, Shirley, war again broke out with the French in Canada. War was not declared between England and France in Europe, but English troops were fighting against the French, the former for the Queen of Hungary, the latter for the Elector of Bavaria. Thus war might at any moment break out between the colonists. In 1744 the French governor of Cape Breton took Canseau, and threatened Annapolis, which was only saved by a reinforcement from Massachusetts. Some of the English prisoners from Canseau were sent to Louisburg, the chief fort of Cape Breton. When they were restored and returned to Massachusetts they told Shirley of certain weaknesses in the fortification of Louisburg, which would, they thought, lay it open to a surprise. The place would be of great value to England, as it commanded Acadia, the mouth of the St. Lawrence, and Newfoundland. Shirley therefore made the bold proposal to the Assembly of attacking Louisburg in the winter, without waiting for help from England. The Assembly at first was utterly against it, but the matter got abroad, and the project became very popular. It was again brought before the Assembly, which decided, though only by a majority of

A Fort.

one vote, to attack the place. Connecticut, New Hampshire, and Rhode Island, all joined in the expedition. The other colonies declined to assist. A force of about four thousand five hundred men was sent out in eight small vessels. On their way they were reinforced by four English ships. The French were quite unprepared, and allowed the enemy to land unopposed. The New Englanders had had no experience of any regular war since the peace of Utrecht, and were quite ignorant of scientific warfare. Thus they suffered losses in the siege which might easily have been avoided. The siege began in the last week of April. On the 18th of May a French ship, well supplied with stores, and with five hundred men on board, was taken by the English fleet on its way to relieve the garrison. A few days later the fleet was strengthened by the arrival of two more ships from England. On the 17th of June the French, believing that a general attack was about to be made, surrendered the place. This success was a great triumph for the colonists. A force taken entirely from New England, under officers who had never seen service before, had performed a feat of which any army might have been proud. Besides capturing Louisburg, they probably saved their own country from invasion. A French fleet of seven ships was on its way to attack New England, when they heard of the capture of Louisburg, and gave over the attempt. Next year the French sent a fleet of about fifty sail, among them fourteen ships of the line, with three thousand soldiers on board, to attack the English colonies. At this time England was far too much taken up with its own troubles and the Jacobite insurrection to do much for the help of its colonies. Had it not been for a series of mishaps which befell the French fleet, New England could hardly have escaped. But the ships met with storms, the chief officers fell sick and died, and the fleet sailed back to France without striking a blow. In 1748 the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle put an end to the war. To the great disappointment of the New Englanders, Louisburg was restored to the French. This war had no good effect on the relations between the colonists and the mother country. The former felt that their services had been held cheap, and that the English government had left them unprotected. Each country, in fact, was too busy with its own affairs to pay much attention to the other, or to understand its difficulties. Such inconveniences must always be when two distant countries are under one government.

During all this time no important political events took place in Rhode Island or Connecticut. This quiet was probably due to their being left with the appointment of their own governor. Thus they had no cause for discontent; and, moreover, they felt that anything like disorder might endanger their charters. In New Hampshire disputes between Mason's successors and the settlers on the land which they claimed was decided in the colonial courts by a verdict in favor of the latter. The defeated side

appealed to the English government, but ineffectually; and this matter, which had disturbed the colony for forty years, was at last at an end. During the time that the contest between the Governor and the Assembly had been raging in Massachusetts, New Hampshire obtained the favor of the English government by granting the governor a fixed salary. In 1727 an Act was passed that assemblies should be elected every three years. All voters were to have an estate of forty pounds value. This Act was confirmed by the English government, and henceforth served as a declaration of the constitution of New Hampshire.

A Scene in Maryland

CHAPTER X.

MARYLAND.

ALL the colonies that we have considered hitherto, with one exception, were founded either by companies or by parties of settlers, and were under governors chosen by themselves, or appointed by the Crown. But, as we have seen in the case of Maine, there was another kind of colony, called proprietary. The first of these was Maryland, founded in 1632 by Lord Baltimore. His father, George Calvert, the first Lord Baltimore, was a convert to the Roman Catholic Church, and an adherent and personal friend of James I. and afterwards of Charles I. Thus he easily obtained a grant of land for a colony. His first attempt was in

Newfoundland. A settlement had already been formed there by some Bristol men in 1610. No success followed Lord Baltimore's attempt. The climate was severe, his health failed, and he was annoyed on account of his religion by the neighboring colonists, who seem to have been Puritans. In 1629 he left Newfoundland and went to Virginia; but the Virginians, who were strong Protestants, gave him an unfriendly reception, and he left the colony. He then applied for a grant of land to the south of James River, within the bounds of Virginia. This, however, was resisted by some leading Virginians, and the scheme was given up. Finally he obtained a grant of land to the north of the River Potomac, to the north of Virginia, taking in a large portion of the soil included by the Virginia charter. This charter had been annulled, and it might be held that the right over the soil returned to the king. At the same time it would have been evidently unjust to grant away any land again which settlers had occupied trusting to the original Virginia charter. There was, however, no such injustice in granting lands which had been included by that charter, provided that the settlers had not yet occupied them, and Baltimore's grant was strictly limited to unoccupied lands. The country was to be called Maryland, in honor of the Queen Henrietta Maria. The charter granted to Baltimore made him almost an independent sovereign. With the assistance of the freemen of the colony he could make laws, which were to be as far as possible in accordance with the laws of England, but did not require to be confirmed by the king. He had also power to appoint judges and public officers, and to pardon criminals. One very important concession was made; no tax was to be levied by the English Crown. This charter merely fixed the relations between the Crown and the proprietor; it did not settle anything as to those between the proprietor and the settlers, beyond ordering that they should be called together to make laws. Everything beyond this was left to be arranged between Baltimore and the colonists.

Before the charter was finally executed, Baltimore died. The grant, however, was continued to his son and successor, Cecilius Calvert. In 1632 he sent out about two hundred settlers, under his brother, Leonard Calvert. Though Baltimore himself was a Roman Catholic, he does not seem to have had any idea of confining his settlement to that religion, and many of those who sailed were Protestants. Early in 1634 the settlers landed at the mouth of the Potomac. By good luck they lighted on an Indian town, from which a large number of the inhabitants had just fled for fear of a neighboring tribe. Those who remained received the settlers hospitably, accepted some presents, and granted the English the empty part of the town. Unhappily the colonists had other and less friendly neighbors to deal with. A Virginian, one Clayborne, had established a station at a place called the Isle of Kent, in Chesapeake Bay, for trade with the Indians.

The territory came within the bounds of Baltimore's grant, and Governor Calvert considered that he was not bound to regard such a settlement as inhabited land, and consequently that he had a right to occupy it. Clayborne resisted his attempt to take possession of it, and a fight followed, in

TRADING WITH INDIANS

which one Marylander and three Virginians were killed. The question was referred to the Privy Council, but no definite decision was given, and the matter was left to become a source of dispute in future times.

The colony soon throve and increased. During the first two years, Baltimore, it is said, spent forty thousand pounds on the exportation of

emigrants, and in supplying the colony with necessaries. Notwithstanding this he had some difficulties with the settlers. The charter, as we have seen, did not fix the relations between them; and Baltimore himself does not seem to have drawn up any constitution for the colony. The nearest approach to this was the commission by which he appointed Leonard Calvert governor. This gave him power to call assemblies, to confirm or annul the laws passed by them, to make grants of land, and to sit as judge in criminal and civil cases. But the exact division of power between the Governor and the Assembly was not settled, and consequently for some time there was great danger of each asserting claims which the other would not admit. This evil, too, was increased by the fact of the proprietor being of a different religion from many of the settlers. This, however, was less important than it might have been, inasmuch as Lord Baltimore never seems to have made the slightest attempt to press Romanism on the colonists, or indeed to have troubled himself in any way about their religious condition. As in Massachusetts, the Assembly was at first a primary one, and consisted of the whole body of freemen. In the same way too the inconvenience of the system was soon felt, and a Representative Assembly was substituted. The process of change, however, was not exactly the same. In Massachusetts, as we have seen, a Representative Assembly grew up side by side with the original assembly of all the freemen, and finally ousted it; but in Maryland the primary assembly gradually changed into a representative one. At first many of the settlers found it inconvenient to attend, and sent proxies, that is, gave their neighbors power to vote for them. From this it was an easy step to allow each county to send two proxies or representatives. But for some time the two systems were mixed up, and those who were dissatisfied with the result of the election were allowed to attend the Assembly themselves. After the representative system was definitely established, the proprietor exercised the right of summoning any persons he pleased to the Assembly, to sit with the representatives. This right, if freely used, would have thrown the whole power into the hands of the proprietor, since he could fill the Assembly with his nominees. As, however, in about ten or twelve years the Assembly was divided, as in Virginia, into two Houses—the lower formed of the representatives, and the upper of the councillors and the proprietor's nominees—this power was of no great importance, nor does it seem to have been largely exercised. The want of a fixed constitution was soon felt. It was ordered by the charter that the proprietor and the freemen should make laws; but nothing was said as to the way in which this power was to be divided, and what was to be done in case of a difference of opinion. In a long-established government, such as that of England, the absence of written regulations on a point of this sort matters but little, as some settled usage is sure

to have grown up which is fully as binding as any law; but in a new country the want of a fixed regulation could not fail to be felt. This soon happened. The Governor, acting for the proprietor, and the Assembly, each proposed laws, and in each case the laws proposed by the one were refused by the other. At last it was settled by a compromise, in which the proprietor made the chief concessions. These disputes did not interfere with the good feeling which existed between Baltimore and the settlers. This is shown by the fact that the Assembly voluntarily granted the proprietor a subsidy, to be raised by a poll-tax, to repay him in some degree for all that he had spent on the colony. By this act of courtesy and goodwill to Baltimore, the Assembly also asserted that the right of levying taxes belonged to them rather than to the proprietor, a point on which the charter said nothing.

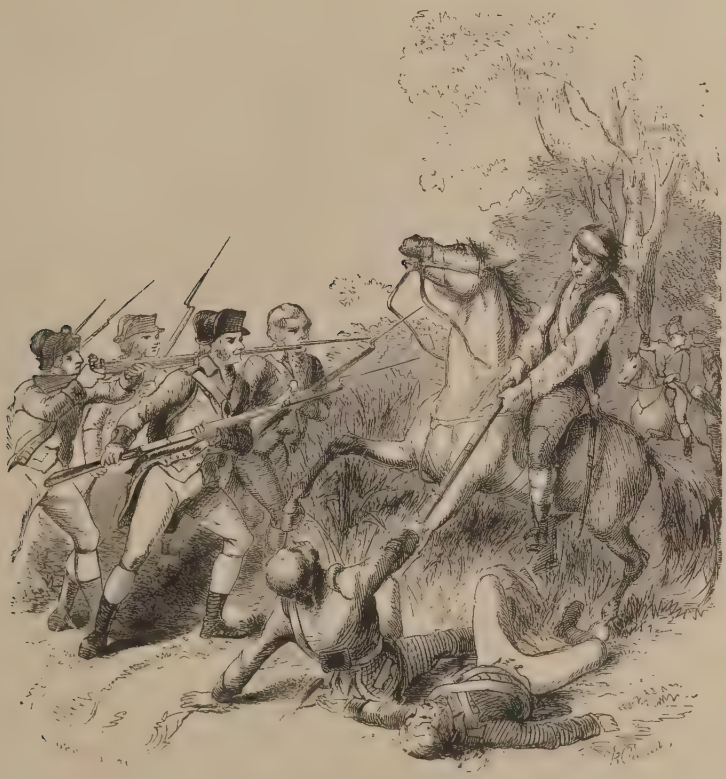
We see that there were three subjects out of which difficulties might arise: Clayborne's claim to the Isle of Kent, the limits of the power of the Assembly, and the difference of religion between the proprietor and the settlers. For this was an age in which difference of religion was almost sure to lead to active hostility, since there was scarcely a single sect which was content to be merely tolerated, but each sought to force others to join it, and none more so than the Puritan party, to which many of the influential Marylanders belonged. The outbreak of the civil war in England was the signal for all these causes of quarrel to come into action. Clayborne thought that he was likely to get that redress from the Parliament which was refused him by the king, and the settlers who opposed Baltimore in religion and politics naturally seized the opportunity given them by the success of their friends at home. Accordingly, soon after the outbreak of the civil war in England, disturbance in Maryland began. In 1645 one Richard Ingle, being suspected of treasonable practices, was arrested, but escaped before he could be brought to trial. Soon after, he was sent out by Parliament in a ship with letters of marque to cruise on the American coast. Although his commission does not seem to have entitled him to meddle with Maryland, he landed there, and headed an insurrection against the Governor. Great disorders ensued, and those who remained loyal to the proprietor were cruelly plundered. But the insurgents did not succeed in overthrowing the established government, and Parliament does not appear to have approved of their proceedings. When the Parliament got the upper hand in England, Baltimore felt that it was advisable to conciliate that party. Although a Roman Catholic and a friend of the king, he does not seem to have been zealous in either cause. His policy throughout was that of a man whose chief aim was to keep his proprietorship and the advantages which it brought him, at the same time interfering as little as possible with the wishes of the settlers. As early as 1641 a complaint had

been made in Parliament that Maryland was practically an independent State, likely to strengthen Romanism and to injure the Protestant cause. In consequence of this, Baltimore had written to the Jesuit priests settled in Maryland, warning them that he could not protect them against the laws of England, or grant them any special immunity. In the same spirit, at the death of his brother in 1648, he appointed as governor William Stone, a Protestant, and believed to be well affected to the Parliament. At the same time, with a view to protecting his fellow-religionists, he compelled Stone to take an oath not to molest Romanists, or to keep them out of office.

For the next two years the relations between the different parties in the colony, and between the proprietor and the Assembly, seem to have been friendly. An Act was passed granting full toleration to all religions. At the same time blasphemy, Sabbath-breaking by games and the like, and the use of abusive names for any sect, were strictly forbidden. This law may be looked upon as a sort of compromise between the two parties. The Roman Catholics, who were the weaker body, would ask for toleration, but the prohibition of Sunday games is quite sure to have come from the Puritans. Another Act was passed by which the right of levying taxes was definitely granted to the Assembly. About this time the Puritan party was reinforced by a number of emigrants from Virginia. It is possible that they had found their way in gradually, but in 1649 they first appear as forming a separate settlement, called Providence. In the next year they returned a member to the Assembly. But though the Puritan party was thus strengthened, the Assembly allowed Baltimore to impose an oath of allegiance on all the settlers, a measure which they had refused to pass a year before. In the next year the commissioners sent out by Parliament to subdue the colonies in Chesapeake Bay, after they had reduced Virginia, proceeded to Maryland. They demanded that the colonists should promise to be faithful to the Commonwealth, and that the name of "the keepers of the liberties of England" should be substituted for that of "the proprietor" in all legal documents. The first condition was readily accepted; but Stone demurred to the second, considering it an infringement of the proprietor's rights. Accordingly he was deposed. The commissioners, however, finding that he was popular with the colonists, and not ill-affected to the Parliament, came to terms with him by some concession on each side, and he was restored as governor. For the next two years things went on smoothly. But in 1654 Baltimore sent out instructions to Stone to demand an oath of fidelity to the proprietor from all the colonists; all who refused were to be banished. This was considered, not unfairly, a violation of the terms on which Stone had submitted. The Puritan party rose; the commissioners, Bennett and Clayborne, were recalled from Virginia; and Stone was again deposed. Stone resisted; he raised a small force, and for a while seemed in

a fair way to be master of the colony. But the Puritans also took up arms, and an engagement followed in which Stone was defeated, and fifty of his followers killed. By this victory the colony came for a while under the power of the Puritans.

In the meantime Clayborne and his party had seized the opportunity given them by the ascendency of Parliament to renew their claims to the



Skirmish with the Puritans.

land included in Baltimore's patent, but which they professed to have occupied. The matter was referred to the Commissioners for Plantations, but their consideration of it was repeatedly postponed, and there is no trace to be found of any decision having been given. At the same time the English government was engaged in considering the validity of Lord Baltimore's proprietary rights. The question was referred to a body called the Commissioners for Trade. Baltimore had already endeavored to ingratiate himself with the ruling party, by representing that Maryland was the only

colony, besides those of New England, that had readily submitted to the Parliament, and that it would be both unfair and unjust to join it to a royalist colony like Virginia. While the case was still before the commissioners, Baltimore seems to have made an attempt to recover his authority by granting a commission as Governor to one Fendal, an unprincipled and intriguing man. Fendal, however, was at once arrested by the Parliamentary leaders, fortunately perhaps for Lord Baltimore, since he had not time, by any act of violence, to bring the cause of the proprietor into discredit. In 1656 the Commissioners for Trade reported in favor of the restoration of the proprietor. This recommendation required to be adopted by the government before it could take effect. Nevertheless, Baltimore, without waiting for this, sent out his brother, Philip Calvert, with instructions to establish Fendal as Governor. Thus there were in the colony two governments, each claiming legitimate power. In the next year Bennett and Matthews, the Parliamentary leaders, finding that Baltimore was sure to be restored, came to terms with him. They handed over the government to him, on the condition that all offences committed since the disturbances began should be tried, not by the proprietor, but by the English government; that none should forfeit their land for the part they had taken; and that all of the Puritan party who wished to leave the country should have a year in which to do so. On these conditions Baltimore was restored. Though the English government does not seem to have given any final decision in his favor, yet it seems to have accepted the report of the commissioners, and no attempt was made to interfere with the authority of the proprietor.

In 1662 Lord Baltimore sent over his son, Charles Calvert, as Governor. Under him the colony soon recovered from the effect of its late troubles. By 1675 it contained sixteen thousand inhabitants. In 1676 Charles Calvert succeeded to his father's title and proprietorship. In 1681 he passed a law limiting the right of voting to those who had freeholds of fifty acres, or other property of forty pounds value. Perhaps in consequence of this, an insurrection broke out, headed by Fendal. This was subdued before serious mischief could follow. Under James II. the proprietor's charter was threatened, and would probably have been taken away but for the Revolution. After the Revolution the proprietor, being a Roman Catholic, was deprived of all political rights in the colony, though he was allowed to keep his proprietary rights over the soil. His successor turned Protestant in 1715, and was restored to his full rights as proprietor. After the Revolution several harsh measures were passed against the Roman Catholics. Besides the laws in force in England against the public celebration of the Roman Catholic religion, which were held to apply to the colony, an Act was passed by the Assembly imposing a duty on all Irish servants imported,

with the view of preventing the introduction of Roman Catholics. This seemed especially harsh in a colony which had been founded by a Roman Catholic, and where, under his government, all sects had enjoyed equal freedom. In 1704 these restrictions were so far lessened that Roman Catholic priests were allowed to celebrate worship in private houses. In their industry, commerce, and mode of life the Marylanders resembled their neighbors in Virginia. In one respect they were more fortunate. Though they did not altogether avoid quarrels with the Indians, yet there were no serious wars. While the records of Virginia are filled with discussions and resolutions concerning the defence of the colony against the savages, we find very little of this in the history of Maryland. The Susquehannas, the tribe with whom the Virginians were engaged in one of their most serious wars, were the chief enemies of Maryland. Their attacks were mostly confined to the frontiers, and they do not seem ever to have endangered the interior of the colony. As in Virginia, Acts were passed protecting the Indians from being enslaved or otherwise ill-treated by the planters. So greatly was the authority of the English respected by the Indians in Maryland, that in 1663 a chief who was placed at the head of a league of tribes thought it well to get the formal consent of the English Governor to his election.

CHAPTER XI.

NEW YORK.

AS we have seen, Virginia and Maryland were separated from New England by the Dutch colony of New Netherlands. As that colony became an English possession, and afterwards one of the United States, it is needful that we should know something of its early history. It was, like Virginia, under the government of a corporation, the Dutch West India Company. The whole management of the colony was entrusted to this company, and the Dutch government only kept the right of annulling the appointment of colonial officers. The company was also bound to inform the government from time to time as to the state of the colony. Unlike the English settlements, New Netherlands depended more on trade than agriculture. One result of this was that, for convenience in dealing with the Indians, the settlers spread inland along the Hudson, and not along the coast. Thus, while New Netherlands nominally reached from the mouth of the Hudson to that of the Delaware, the whole

coast between these two rivers was left unoccupied. Besides the settlements along the Hudson, there were several in the southern part of Long Island, which lies opposite the coast between the Hudson and the Connecticut. The company itself did little in the way of sending out emigrants, but left that to a class of landed proprietors called patroons. These patroons held estates under the company, which they settled with emigrants whom they fitted out and sent over. They might purchase estates of unlimited extent on the one condition of sending out fifty settlers. They might found townships, and appoint officers and magistrates for them. Within their own boundaries they tried all cases, and had power of life and death. By the laws the settlers were allowed to appeal to the company, but this right was practically of little value, as the patroons generally made the emigrants agree to give up this right before they went out. Thus the colony consisted of a number of small separate States, each governed by a single man.

In 1640 another class of settlers was admitted. Every one who went out accompanied by five other emigrants was allowed two hundred acres of land, and was to be independent of the patroons. This provided the colony with a class of yeomen much like those of the New England colonies. The system of patroons does not seem to have answered, and, before the colony passed into the hands of the English, they seem to have died out. As long as it lasted the system gave rise to much difficulty and many disputes. The patroons had disputes with the company as to the limits of their power, and with private traders as to their right of trading in any patroon's country without a license from him. Partly owing to these disputes, and partly to the folly of Kieft, the governor, who involved the colony in a needless war with the Indians, for the first twenty years New Netherlands did not prosper. When Stuyvesant came out in 1647, he only found three hundred men able to bear arms. Under his government things improved. By 1664 the population had increased to ten thousand; the chief place, New Amsterdam, had become a flourishing town, with fifteen hundred inhabitants. The settlers were not all Dutch. Like Holland itself, New Netherlands was the chosen refuge of men persecuted in their own countries for their religion. Besides the Dutch there were Puritans from England, French Huguenots from Rochelle, Waldenses and Walloons. The Waldenses were Protestants from the south-east of France and from Piedmont, who had suffered severe persecutions, chiefly from the Dukes of Savoy. The Walloons were Roman Catholics from the Netherlands. They and the Huguenots were so numerous that public documents were sometimes written in French as well as in Dutch. There were, too, some Swedish settlers on the Delaware. At a later time, it was said that eighteen different languages were spoken in the colony.

The people of New Netherlands did not enjoy anything like the same

political freedom as their English neighbors. They did not make their own laws or fix their own taxes; yet they were not altogether without means of making their wants known, and protecting themselves against arbitrary government. In 1641 Kieft called together a Board of twelve Deputies, elected by the people, to advise him about the war with the Indians. They had no power beyond this. In the next year some of them of their own accord drew up a paper calling the Governor's attention to certain grievances from which the colonists suffered. The chief of these was that the Council, which ought to have been a check upon the Governor, consisted of one member only; and as the Governor had two votes, the whole power was in his hands. They proposed that the people should elect four members of the Council. Kieft promised to allow this, and dissolved the Board, but did not keep his promise. In 1644 he called together a similar Board to consult about taxation. Kieft wanted to lay a duty on certain articles. The Deputies opposed this, declaring that the inhabitants could not pay it, and, moreover, that they ought to be taxed only by the company itself, and not by the Governor. After a dispute, Kieft imposed the tax, but had in some cases to use force in making the colonists pay it. In the same year the Deputies sent a memorial to the company. They represented the wretched state to which Kieft had brought the colony by his folly in making war on the Indians. They advised the company to believe nothing that Kieft told them, and they petitioned for a new Governor and a regular system of representation. The company thereupon recalled Kieft. His successor, Stuyvesant, established an imperfect system of representation. The people were to elect eighteen Councillors, of whom he was to choose nine. Of these, six were to go out of office each year, but before they went out the whole nine were to choose the six incoming members. Thus after the first election the people had no voice in the matter. In 1647 the Councillors sent a memorial to the States-General, setting forth the wants and sufferings of the colony. The government took up the matter, passed a resolution recommending certain improvements, and sent it to the West India Company. The amendment in the condition of the colony was to some extent due to this. In 1653 a dispute arose between Stuyvesant and the people of New Amsterdam about the tax on liquors, in which Stuyvesant at last gave way.

Besides these disputes, the colony was exposed to dangers from without. The Dutch settlers, unlike the English, had constant dealings with the Indians, and those dealings often led to quarrels. In 1643 some trifling misconduct on the part of the Indians was made the pretext for an attack. The country of the Indians was cruelly ravaged, and many of them killed. In making the attack Kieft was acting against the wishes of many of the settlers. One man in particular, De Vries, a leading patroon, did his utmost to check Kieft. Failing in this, he left the colony in despair, warning Kieft

that all the innocent blood that he had shed would be avenged on himself. The Indians were taken by surprise, but they soon collected their forces, ravaged the Dutch country, and penned the settlers within the walls of New Amsterdam. After heavy losses on each side, peace was made. Besides this there were other less important hostilities between the Dutch and the Indians. Luckily the settlers, like the New Englanders, contrived to make friends with the Mohawks. It is said that the first Dutch colonists in 1617 made a treaty with them. This was renewed in 1645; and, as the Indians whom the Dutch attacked were enemies to the Mohawks, the alliance was not weakened by this war. In 1646 the Dutch got into a dispute with the Swedes, who were settled by the river Delaware, on land which both nations claimed. In 1651 Stuyvesant established a fort on the disputed territory. In 1654 the Swedes appeared before the fort with a small force, and the Dutch commander surrendered. In the next year Stuyvesant retook the place. No further attempt was made to recover it, and the only Swedish settlement in America became part of New Netherlands.

FORT ON THE DELAWARE.

It was but natural that England should covet the territory of New Netherlands. The Dutch were then, as the Spaniards had been a century before, the great naval and commercial rivals of the English. Moreover, as long as New Netherlands belonged to any other nation, it was impossible for the northern and southern colonies of England to become united. If the English government had foreseen the possibility of the colonies ever combining in a revolt against the mother country, they might have preferred to keep New Netherlands as a check upon them. But the English were not likely to think of that danger, and looked on New Netherlands only as interfering with their commerce. Moreover, New Amsterdam had the best harbor of any place along the coast, and no other river gave such a highway for the Indian fur trade as the Hudson. The only title which the English had to the place was that they claimed to have discovered it before the Dutch. But even if this were so, it could hardly be thought that this was of any weight, after they had suffered the Dutch to occupy the country unmolested for some fifty years. Nevertheless, in 1664 Charles II. and his advisers, while England and Holland were at peace, resolved to assert this claim. They

sent out a fleet of four ships, with a force of four hundred and fifty men on board, under the command of Colonel Nicholls. The commissioners who were at the same time sent out to New England were ordered to assist Nicholls, and to get aid from the New England colonies. Massachusetts refused help, but the Connecticut settlers, being old enemies of the Dutch, came forward readily. In August the fleet appeared before New Amsterdam. The place was weakly fortified, and ill-supplied with men and ammunition. Nevertheless, Stuyvesant was for holding out. When Nicholls sent a letter offering liberal terms of surrender, Stuyvesant tore it in pieces. The settlers, however, demanded to see the letter, and the fragments were put together and laid before them. The people, when they heard the terms offered, flocked to Stuyvesant, and besought him to surrender and avoid the risk of an attack. At first he declared that he would rather be carried out dead; but at length, finding that scarcely any one supported him, and that even his own son was against him, he yielded. By the terms of the treaty, the garrison was allowed to march out with all the honors of war, and the property of the settlers was not injured. The remaining settlements followed the example of the capital. One place alone, New Amstel, held out. It was taken with slight loss, and by October the whole country had submitted. By this conquest England obtained the whole sea-coast from the Kennebec to the Savannah. Thus the acquirement of New Netherlands by England was a turning-point in American history. It made it possible for the English colonies to become one united dominion. The new territory was granted to the Duke of York as proprietor. The name of the country and of the capital were both changed to New York. Part of the territory was sold to a company of proprietors, and afterwards formed the province of New Jersey. The rest was placed under the government of Nicholls. The charter granted to the Duke of York gave him full power to make laws. Nothing was said, as in the charter of Maryland, about the advice or assistance of the freemen. In 1665 Nicholls called together a Convention of the settlers, to advise and help him in drawing up a system of government and a code of laws, but without allowing them any power of enacting laws. The government was to be in the hands of a Governor and a Council. No steps were taken towards giving the people representatives. The only harsh measure adopted was that all grants of land had to be renewed, and a fee paid for renewal. In 1667 Nicholls was succeeded by Francis Lovelace, the head of a distinguished royalist family. In 1672 war broke out between England and Holland. In the next year a Dutch fleet threatened New York. Lovelace and the English officers with him showed no such resolute spirit as Stuyvesant had displayed in a like case, and the place was at once surrendered. The country took back its old name, while the capital was called Orange, in honor of the Stadtholder, William of Orange, then at the

height of his popularity. But the Dutch only held the country for fifteen months, too short a time to make any important change, and in 1674 the treaty of Breda ended the war, and restored the territory to the English. Thenceforth New York, as it was again called, remained an English possession.

The Governor now appointed by the Duke of York was Andros, whose later dealings with New England have been already told. As before, the transfer to the English was effected with little or no injury to the private rights of the settlers. Their desire for a Representative Assembly was at first disregarded.

In 1681 the people made a formal petition for a government like those of the New England colonies, and the Duke promised to consider their request. In 1683 Colonel Dongan, an Irishman of good family, was sent over as Governor. He was instructed to call an Assembly of eighteen representatives elected by the freeholders. They were to make laws, subject to the Duke's approval, and to decide about taxation. In October the first New York Assembly met. Its first proceeding was to draw up a charter of liberties. This enacted that the government should be perpetually vested in a Governor, Council, and Assembly; that all freeholders and freemen of corporations should have votes; that freedom of conscience should be granted to all Christians, and that no tax should be levied without the consent of the Assembly. This charter of liberties received the king's assent. The dealings of James II. with New York are as hard to be understood as any part of his seemingly strange and capricious policy. In 1686 the Assembly of New York, like those of the New England colonies, was annulled, and the whole government transferred to Dongan and his Council. He was instructed to provide for the celebration of the worship of the Church of England throughout the colony. Moreover, no one was to keep a school without a license from the Archbishop of Canterbury. About this time the settlers had important dealings with the Indians. The English government kept to the policy of their Dutch predecessors, and encouraged the friendship of the Mohawks. In 1678 Andros had a friendly conference with them, and in 1683 Dongan renewed the alliance. In the next year ambassadors from the five nations of the Mohawk confederacy met the Governors of New York and Virginia at Albany, made them solemn promises of friendship, and asked to have the Duke of York's arms placed over the log forts. Throughout his term of office, Dongan seems to have been more alive than most of our Colonial Governors to the importance of encouraging the friendship of the Mohawks, and preventing any alliance between them and the French; it was in a great measure due to this that, while Massachusetts and New Hampshire were being ravaged by the Canadian Indians, New York enjoyed security.

As in New England, so in New York, the English revolution of 1688 was accompanied by a colonial one. But the New York revolution was not marked by the same moderation as that in New England. In 1688 Dongan was succeeded by Andros. He was represented in New York by a deputy, Nicholson, a man wanting in judgment, with neither firmness to control nor ability to conciliate the colonists. When the news of the revolution arrived the people rose, under the leadership of one Leisler. He was a German by birth, able, honest, and energetic; but violent, ambitious, uneducated, and utterly without political experience. He took the government into his own hands, turned out those officers who differed from him in politics or religion, and imprisoned some of them. He used his power in so arbitrary a fashion that a counter-revolution soon sprang up. The party opposed to Leisler established itself at Albany, and for a time the colony was divided between two governments. The Albany party was far more temperate than Leisler, and, like the New Englanders, held its authority only until some orders should come out from England, whereas Leisler seized the governorship without waiting for any commission. When a letter came out from King William to Nicholson, authorizing him to carry on the government, Leisler intercepted it, and told the people that he had a commission from the Crown. In 1691 the king sent Colonel Sloughter as Governor. Unluckily he was detained on his way by bad weather. Major Ingoldsby, who was next in command, but who had no authority to act as commander-in-chief or governor, landed in February, and summoned Leisler to give up the government. He refused, on the ground that Ingoldsby had no authority, to which the latter could only answer that Leisler had none either. Leisler then established himself in the fort of New York and fired on the king's troops. In March, Sloughter arrived. He summoned the insurgents to surrender, but Leisler, so far from complying, made a like demand of Sloughter. Soon after, however, finding that he was deserted by his followers, and that his two chief supporters, who had been sent to treat with Sloughter, were seized and imprisoned, Leisler yielded. He and the other ringleaders in the revolt were tried, and eight of them sentenced to death; but all of them, except Leisler and his chief supporter, Milborne, were pardoned. Sloughter, it is said, was unwilling to put any to death, but was overpersuaded by those who had suffered from Leisler's tyranny.

In March, 1691, Sloughter called an Assembly. The Assembly annulled all the Acts of Leisler's government. It also passed an Act which was designed to be a sort of charter for the colony, like the earlier charter of liberties. This Act set forth the rights of the colonists and their relation to the Crown. It enacted that New York should be under a government consisting, like that of other colonies, of a Governor, Council, and Representatives, and that this body only should have power to impose taxes.

The king refused his assent to this Act, and New York was thus left without any written constitution. Nevertheless, the proposed form of government was adopted. The division into two parties, which had begun with Leisler's insurrection, lasted after his death. Fletcher, who succeeded Sloughter in 1691, was regarded as the champion of those who had opposed

First Settlement of New York.

Leisler. His folly and violence soon involved him in disputes with the Assembly. A bill was passed by the Assembly for endowing the clergy at the expense of the colony. Fletcher wished to add a clause giving the Governor the right of appointment. The Assembly refused their assent to this, whereupon Fletcher reproved and dismissed them. Moreover, he granted large tracts of land in the backwoods to his favorites, thereby impoverishing the State and endangering the alliance with the Mohawks. In 1698 Fletcher was succeeded by Lord Bellomont. Though a far abler and better man than Fletcher, he too suffered himself to be made the leader of

a party, consisting mainly of Leisler's surviving followers. He annulled Fletcher's grants of land, and in a speech to the Assembly heaped abuse upon his memory, saying that he had himself received "the legacy of a divided people, an empty purse, a few miserable, naked, half-starved soldiers; in a word, the whole government out of frame." In 1701 Bellamont died, having done as much to strengthen the popular party by his encouragement as Fletcher had by his ill-judged severity. The next governor, Lord Cornbury, made himself hateful to both parties alike. He was a grandson of the famous Lord Clarendon. Like his father and grandfather, he was a strong partisan of the Established Church, but his whole conduct and character were such as to bring disgrace on any cause that he took up. He was extravagant and dishonest, fond of low pleasures and indecent buffoonery. He embezzled money raised by the Assembly for public purposes, and imposed illegal taxes and exorbitant fees. He also incurred the displeasure of the people by threatening to put in force the penal laws against Dissenters, which the colonists alleged were not binding out of England. The Assembly passed a series of resolutions denouncing his conduct, in one of which they declared that no money could be levied in the colony without the consent of the Assembly. In 1708 Cornbury's misdeeds were brought before the notice of the queen. She deprived him of his governorship, and his creditors thereupon seized him and threw him into prison.

For the next forty years the history of New York, like that of Massachusetts during the same time, is little more than a string of disputes between the Governor and the Assembly. In Fletcher's time, the whole of the State revenue was handed over to the Governor, and the expenditure of it was entirely entrusted to him. In 1705 this was so far changed, that a treasurer was appointed by the colony to receive all money raised for any special purpose over and above the regular revenue. In 1710 the disputes began. The Assembly claimed the sole power of levying taxes, and denied the Council any right of amending money bills, declaring that the people could not be deprived of their property except by their own consent as given by their representatives. They also said plainly that, even if the opinion of the English Board for Plantations was opposed to them, they should still hold to their own view. Soon after this, Governor Hunter established a Court of Chancery. The Assembly passed a resolution that this was illegal, and that no fees could be exacted without their consent. They also claimed the right of controlling the expenditure of the revenue. Soon after, however, they gave way on this latter point. Hunter was succeeded in 1720 by William Burnet, the same who was afterwards Governor of Massachusetts. In his time the dispute about the Court of Chancery was renewed. The representatives so far prevailed that the fees in that court

were lowered. Under Governor Cosby, who came out in 1722, the disputes reached their height. At first he succeeded in enlisting the Assembly on his side, and for a while things went on as he wished. The length of time during which an Assembly might continue without an election was not defined by law; and Cosby, finding that he had got an Assembly that suited him, kept it for the unprecedented period of six years from its election. The people became furious, but the power of dissolving the Assembly lay with the Governor, and there was no remedy. A fresh Assembly was not elected till 1737, a year after Cosby's death. But the temporary ascendency of the Governor's party had only served to inflame and strengthen the opposition to it, and the next Assembly took a bolder course than any before it. Their position was probably improved by the fact that the new Governor had not yet come out, and was represented by a Lieutenant-Governor. The Assembly at once drew up an address to the Lieutenant-Governor, plainly declaring that they would only grant such a revenue as they deemed proper, and that only for one year; and that they would not even do that, until such laws had been passed as they thought needful for the welfare of the colony. Upon this the Lieutenant-Governor dissolved the Assembly, and a fresh one was elected; but with the same result. The Assembly voted liberal grants for the support of the French war then going forward, but refused to give the Lieutenant-Governor the control over the public funds. From this time the claims of the Assembly seem to have been quietly admitted.

During this time, New York, unlike the other northern colonies, had enjoyed security from the Indians. This was partly due to its position, sheltered as it was by the country of the Mohawks. Moreover, Peter Schuyler, who commanded the New York forces for a considerable time both before and after the revolution, took great pains to renew the alliance with the Mohawks; and wishing to impress on the English Court the necessity of keeping friends with them, he took five of their chiefs over to England. While it remained in the possession of the Dutch, New York enjoyed no great prosperity; but under English rule it became one of the richest and most thriving of the American colonies. The climate was good, and the soil fertile. As in Virginia, the rivers gave great facilities for carriage. The people were more frugal in their habits, and, it is said, more thrifty and gain-loving, than the New Englanders. Their exports consisted mainly of farm-produce, timber, and fur. In the fur-trade, the neighborhood of the Mohawks and the possession of the Hudson gave New York a great advantage over the other States. As under Dutch rule, the colony continued to be a refuge for emigrants of all nations. Governor Hunter brought out three thousand German Protestants who had fled from the Palatinate to avoid persecution. A number of French Huguenots also came out. Among this multitude of

different races there was of course great diversity of religion. There were English Episcopalians, Dutch and French Calvinists, Scotch Presbyterians, German Reformers, Quakers and Moravians, Baptists and Jews. In fact, whether we look to the variety of its resources, the diversity of its people, or the number of its religions, we may say that New York in the eighteenth century was a sort of model and representative of the whole body of English colonies.

THE OLD STATE-HOUSE AT COLUMBIA.

CHAPTER IV.

THE CAROLINAS.

BETWEEN the southern frontier of Virginia and the Spanish settlements lay a large tract of land, for the most part fertile and well watered. Raleigh's two colonies had been placed on this coast. After them no English settlement seems to have been made south of Virginia till about 1655. At that time two small parties of emigrants established themselves in this country, one from Virginia, the other from Massachusetts. In 1663 Lord Clarendon, Lord Shaftesbury, and other friends of Charles II., obtained from him a grant of land. Their territory began at the southern boundary of Virginia, and reached nearly five hundred miles along the coast. It was to be called Carolina, in honor of the king. The colony was probably intended in a great measure as a refuge for those royalists who had suffered heavy losses in the civil war, and whom the king was unable or unwilling to compensate in any other way. Full

power was given to the proprietors to make laws and to manage the affairs of the province. One of the first things that the proprietors did was to draw up a most elaborate constitution for their new State. This was done by John Locke, the great philosopher, and Lord Shaftesbury, and was called the Fundamental Constitutions. The country was to be minutely and exactly divided into counties, which were to be subdivided into seigniories, baronies, precincts, and colonies. There were to be noblemen of two orders, in numbers proportioned to those of the settlers. The eldest of the proprietors was to be called the Palatine, and was to be the supreme officer. Each of the proprietors was to hold a court in his own barony with six councillors and twelve deputies, called assistants. There was to be a parliament, meeting once in two years, and consisting of the proprietors, the noblemen, and the representatives elected by the freeholders.

This constitution met with the same fate as the elaborate one devised by Gorges for his colony. It was drawn up without any real knowledge of the special wants and the manner of life of a new State, nor do the proprietors, after framing it, ever seem to have made any vigorous effort to put it in force. At first they did not even attempt to unite the various settlements under a single government. Each of those already existing was placed under a separate government, composed like those in the other colonies of a Governor, a Council, and a House of Representatives. The Council was to be appointed by the proprietors out of a number of candidates chosen by the people. The two settlements were called after two of the proprietors, the Duke of Albemarle (formerly General Monk), and the Earl of Clarendon. Albemarle was the settlement formed by the emigrants from Virginia. The Massachusetts settlers, further to the south, very soon left, driven away either by fear of the Indians or by the barrenness of the soil. Their place was filled by emigrants from Barbadoes. The proprietors, anxious to people their territory, tempted their settlers by very liberal terms. They gave each man a hundred acres of land for himself, a hundred for every one of his children, and fifty for every woman or slave that he took out. In return he had to provide himself with a gun, a supply of ammunition, and food for six months. Besides these settlements the proprietors formed a third, about three hundred miles to the south. This was divided into four counties, and like the northern settlement was at first chiefly peopled from Barbadoes. Though they were not yet so called, we may for convenience speak of these settlements by the names which they afterwards bore, North and South Carolina, the former including both Albemarle and Clarendon.

The whole country before long fell into confusion. The proprietors always gave out that the separate governments were only temporary, and were to be replaced by the Fundamental Constitutions. Thus the people,

though enjoying present freedom, were dissatisfied, not knowing how soon they might be subjected to a government distasteful and unsuited to them. Moreover, many of the settlers seem to have been men of doubtful character. The proprietors ordered that no person should be sued for debts incurred out of the colony. This apparently was done to attract settlers thither. Thus the colony, like Virginia in early times, was in danger of becoming a refuge for the destitute and ill-conducted. Their mode of life was not likely to better matters. For several years there was no minister of religion in Albemarle. The proprietors, too, showed litttle regard for the welfare of the colony in their choice of officers, and disturbances soon broke out. In the northern province the proprietors appointed one of their own body, Millar, who was already unpopular with the settlers, to be the collector of quit-rents. Among a poor and not over-loyal people, the post was a difficult one, and Millar made it more so by harshness and imprudence. A revolution broke out. Millar was seized, but he escaped, and the Governor, Eastchurch, was deposed. He died just after, and one of the proprietors, Sothel, went out as Governor. He fared no better, and after six years of confusion was forced to resign. He then went to South Carolina, where he took up the cause of the settlers, headed an insurrection, in which Colleton, the Governor, also a proprietor, was deposed, and was himself chosen by the people in his stead. From this it would seem as if either Sothel's misdeeds in North Carolina had been exaggerated by his enemies, or as if there was hardly any communication between the Northern and Southern provinces. The proprietors, though they had been indifferent to the welfare of the settlers, showed no wish to deal harshly with them. In 1693 they passed a resolution declaring that, as the settlers wished to keep their present government rather than adopt the Fundamental Constitutions, it would be best to give them their own way. Thus Locke's constitution perished, having borne no fruit.

Two years later John Archdale, one of the proprietors, went out as Governor. He was a Quaker, and seems to have been in every way well fitted for the post. By lowering the quit-rents and allowing them to be paid in produce instead of money, by making peace with the Indians, and by attention to roads and public works, he gave prosperity, and, for a time, peace to the colony. One thing which especially furthered its welfare was the introduction of rice. The climate and soil of South Carolina were found to be specially suited to it, and the colony soon became the rice-market for all the American colonies. Silk and cotton also might have been produced to advantage, but the cultivation of rice was so profitable that little time or labor was left for any other work. One bad effect of this was that it forced the colonists to employ large numbers of negro slaves. The work in the rice plantations was very unhealthy, and

could only be endured by the natives of a sultry climate. This familiarized the Carolina settlers with slavery, and they fell into the regular practice of kidnapping the Indians and selling them to the West India Islands.

Partly through the above mentioned practice, both Carolinas were at an early time engaged in serious wars with the Indians. These were the more dangerous, because the settlers lived, like those of Virginia, for the most part in scattered plantations, each on his own land. Fortunately for the settlers in North Carolina, the Indians in that neighborhood were mostly broken up into many small tribes, under no common head. But in South Carolina the Creeks, the Cherokees, the Appalachians, and the Yamassees were all formidable nations. The first important contest with the Indians was in 1703. In that year one Moore, Governor of South Carolina, invaded the country of the Appalachians, on the ground that they were allies of the Spaniards, with whom the English were then at war. He devastated their country and compelled them to submit to the English government. After that, he planted fourteen hundred of them on the southern frontier as a sort of outpost against the Spaniards in Florida and the Southern Indians. In 1711 North Carolina became engaged in a more serious Indian war. About that time a number of German Protestants from the Palatinate, being persecuted by their Elector, fled to various parts of America. A number of them settled in North Carolina. Their leader, Baron Grafenried, with Lawson, the surveyor of the colony, went to measure lands for the German settlement. The Tuscaroras, a warlike tribe, thinking that their territory was encroached on, seized them. Lawson was put to death, but Grafenried pleaded that he was a foreigner, and had nothing to do with the English, and the Indians accordingly spared him. It seems doubtful whether the Tuscaroras had been already meditating an attack, or whether they thought that, having killed Lawson, they would have to fight, and so had better strike the first blow. They invaded the English territory in small bands, and cut off in one day about a hundred and twenty settlers. Yet they showed some sense both of humanity and honesty by sparing the Germans, on the strength of a treaty made with Grafenried.

SLAVES AT WORK.

The North Carolina settlers sent for help to their southern neighbors. They at once sent a small force with a number of Indian allies from the southern tribes. No decisive blow was struck. But the next year a large force was sent from the south, and the Tuscaroras were crushed. A peace was made, by which they promised to give up to the English twenty Indians, the chief contrivers of Lawson's murder and of the massacre, to restore all their prisoners and spoil, and to give two hostages from each of their villages. The greater part of the Tuscarora nation left the country and joined the confederacy of the Mohawks. In this, as in the New England wars, the Indians were defeated rather through their own divisions than through the strength of the English.

In 1715 South Carolina was exposed to yet greater danger. From the very outset, the Spaniards in Florida had been jealous and unfriendly neighbors to the English. Their chief settlement was at St. Augustine, a hundred and seventy miles south of the river Savannah, which was practically the southern boundary of Carolina. They had encouraged the slaves of the English to run away, and as early as 1670 had made a raid into the English territory. For thirty years after this no open hostility took place. In 1702, as Spain and England were at war, Moore planned an expedition against St. Augustine by sea and land. He reached the town, but alarmed by the arrival of two Spanish ships, he retreated without striking a blow. Soon after the Spaniards began to seduce the Yamassees, a large and powerful tribe who had hitherto been friends of the English. This design was furthered by the humanity of Charles Craven, the Governor of South Carolina, who often sent back the Yamassees with Spanish prisoners, whom they had taken and would have tortured. This gave the Spaniards opportunities of intriguing with the Yamassee chiefs. In 1715 a combined force of the Yamassees and other southern tribes, making in all more than seven thousand warriors, attacked the English settlements. The Governor could only bring against them twelve hundred men. Yet he defeated them after a fierce battle, and drove them out of the colony, though not before they had killed four hundred settlers. It is said that the Spaniards at St. Augustine welcomed the Yamassees on their return, ringing bells and firing cannon. Though repulsed, the Yamassees continued for many years to harass the English. Four years later a Spanish fleet sailed from Havana against the Carolinas. It first attacked the Bahamas, islands off the southern point of Florida, where there was an English settlement, but it was beaten off. The defeat, followed by a heavy storm, prevented it from attacking the Carolinas. The multitude of slaves made the hostility of the Spaniard specially dangerous. If the slaves should revolt, the settlers might at any time have to deal with enemies without and rebels within. In the case of the Indians this danger was less felt, since the Indians and the

negroes detested one another, and there was little fear of any sort of combination between them. But the Spaniards looked upon the multitude of slaves as a weak point in the English settlements, and in a later war they paraded a regiment made up wholly of negroes, officers and all, in front of their forces, as a bait to the English slaves to join them.

In the meantime, internal disturbances had sprung up in both colonies. In 1705, the Dissenters in South Carolina sent a petition to the queen, calling attention to the misgovernment of the proprietors, and the law officers of the Crown were ordered to commence proceedings for a writ of *Quo warranto*. Nothing, however, came of this. In 1717, the Assembly of South Carolina passed a law that the election of representatives should be held, not, as before, at the capital, Charlestown, but in the different counties. This, by making it easier for all the freemen, especially for the poorer sort, to vote, strengthened the hands of the people and weakened the influence of the proprietors. At the same time, the Assembly imposed a heavy import duty on English goods. The proprietors annulled both these Acts. They also provoked the colonists by increasing the number of the Council from seven to twelve. Moreover, there was a general feeling in the colony that the proprietors cared only for their own pockets, and were indifferent to the welfare of the people. The colonists accordingly broke out into open revolt against the proprietors. Robert Johnson, the Governor, was himself popular, and the people endeavored to enlist him on their side; but he remained loyal to the proprietors. The colonists then deposed him, and appointed James Moore to be Governor. At the same time they sent over an agent to England to plead their cause. The effect of his representation was that South Carolina was made a royal colony. Nicholson, a man of considerable experience in the colonies, was sent out as the first Governor. Under the new system the colony throve, and the rapid improvement in its condition was the best proof of the misgovernment of the proprietors. Peace was made with the Southern Indians. Clergymen were sent out, partly at the expense of the colony, partly by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and schools were established throughout the colony. Before long, North Carolina too passed under the government of the Crown. Though there was not such an open display of enmity as in the southern colony, yet the people were known to be disaffected to the proprietors. In 1729, the proprietors voluntarily surrendered their rights, and North Carolina became a royal colony. The change was made without dispute, and apparently with the good will of all concerned.

In spite of these disturbances the actual resources of the two colonies, especially of the southern provinces, were so great that, when quiet was restored, they quickly became rich and prosperous. In the whole country there was but one town, Charlestown, the capital of South Carolina. Its

position, and its neighborhood to the West India Islands, made it the most important place south of New York. About two hundred ships sailed thence every year. In climate and soil, the two colonies were much alike. But while the rivers of South Carolina afforded good harborage for small vessels, most of those in North Carolina were lost in large and unwholesome swamps before reaching the sea. This, coupled with the fact that there was no place in North Carolina like Charlestown, gave the southern colony a superiority in commerce, and hence in political activity and education, which it long kept. In one point the two Carolinas resembled New York rather than their southern neighbors, Virginia and Maryland. The population included a large number of foreigners, French, German, and Swiss, most of them refugees, who had fled from persecution in their own country.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE QUAKER COLONIES.

IN the history of New England we have already met with the sect of Quakers, or Friends. The first members of that sect were wild and noisy fanatics, but before long men of good family and education joined them, and under such leaders the Quakers took an important part in the colonization of America. The greatest and most prominent of these men was William Penn, the founder of Pennsylvania. But before that colony was settled, another had come into being, not consisting wholly of Quakers, but numbering many of them among its inhabitants. That State was New Jersey. As we have already seen, the Duke of York, as soon as he came into possession of New Netherlands, sold about one-twelfth of it, that is to say, some seven thousand square miles, to Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret. Although this only formed a small part of his whole territory, it was in value scarcely inferior to all the rest put together. For it included nearly the whole seaboard of about a hundred and twenty miles in length, and consequently it was the best place for fresh colonists. Moreover, the greater part of it was almost uninhabited, and the proprietors could sell or let the land in parcels, while in the rest of New Netherlands there were Dutch and Swedes, who claimed the soil as their own, and often refused any payment to the proprietors. This territory was also well protected from the Indians, on the west by the river Delaware, and

on the north and north-west by the inhabited districts of New Netherlands. Moreover, unlike most of the colonies, it had a fixed boundary to the west, and thus the settlers were kept from straggling, and held together in towns and villages. When Nicholls, the Governor of New York, discovered all this, thinking that his master had done unwisely to part with the land, he tried to set aside the sale, but in vain. The new colony was called New Jersey, in honor of Carteret, who had bravely defended Jersey against the parliamentary forces in the great rebellion. The government was to consist, like those of the other colonies, of a Governor, Council, and Representatives. No taxes were to be imposed except by consent of this government. The proprietors retained the right of annulling any law, and of appointing colonial officers. All religious sects were to enjoy liberty of worship, and equal political rights. At the time of the purchase, New Jersey was almost uninhabited. A few Dutch and Swedes had settled in the country, and a few New England Puritans, who had been driven out of Massachusetts, among them some of Mrs. Hutchinson's followers, had sought a refuge there, and had been allowed by the Dutch to form settlements. Several of these had obtained a right to the soil by purchase from the Indians. In 1665, Philip Carteret, a nephew of Sir George, was sent out as governor. He founded a town, called, after Lady Carteret, Elizabethtown. A number of colonists came in from New England. In 1668, the first Assembly was held at Elizabethtown, and some of the laws passed show that the colonists were influenced by the ideas and habits of New England. In 1670 a dispute arose between the proprietors and the settlers. The former claimed quit-rents for the land. The latter refused to pay, pleading that, by buying the ground from the Indians, they had ownership of it, and that, if they allowed the proprietors' claim, they would be paying twice over. The dispute led to an insurrection. In 1672 the people drove out Philip Carteret and the other government officers, and chose as Governor, James Carteret, a kinsman of Sir George, who had nevertheless taken the side of the settlers. A year later, the Dutch, as we have seen, got back for a short time all that had been taken from them by the

English. But in New Jersey, as in New York, the short period of Dutch occupation made no special change.

When, by the treaty of 1674, the Dutch settlements were finally given up to the English, the king granted them by a fresh deed to the Duke of York. This grant took in the lands which the Duke had sold to Berkeley and Carteret. They contended that their right still held good, and the duke granted their claim. Nevertheless, he afterwards asserted a right of levying certain duties in New Jersey, which led him into several disputes, both with the proprietors and the settlers. In 1674, Lord Berkeley, being dissatisfied with the results of his colony, and with his ill-treatment, as it must have seemed to him, at the hands of the Duke of York and the colonists, sold his right in the land to two Quakers, Fenwick and Bylling. Soon after, Bylling, in consequence of a dispute with Fenwick, sold his share to three other Quakers, of whom William Penn was one. They, wishing to set up a separate colony, persuaded Sir George Carteret to divide the territory with them. This he did, and for some time it formed two separate States, East and West New Jersey, the former belonging to Carteret, the latter to the Quakers. The eastern division contained about four thousand settlers. The western was much more scantily inhabited, and so was fitter for the purpose of its proprietors. Their object was to found a colony which might be a refuge for the Quakers, as New England had been for the Puritans. They drew up a constitution for their new State. Except in two points, it was like the earlier constitution framed by Carteret and Berkeley. The Council was not to be appointed by the proprietors, but chosen by the Assembly, and to prevent disturbances at elections the voting for representatives was to be by ballot. In 1677, four hundred Quakers emigrated to West New Jersey. In 1680 a dispute arose between the proprietors and the Duke of York. Andros, who was then Governor of New York, tried to levy an import duty in New Jersey; Penn and his colleagues resisted. They pleaded that they had bought the land from Lord Berkeley; that they had thereby acquired his rights; that one of these rights was that the colony should be subject to no laws, but those of its own making and those of England, and that therefore a law imposed by Andros could not bind them. They represented that to tax the settlers without their consent would be infringing their rights as Englishmen, and that they would never have braved the perils of a distant voyage and a new country, unless with a hope of having those rights enlarged rather than lessened. The English Judges before whom the question came decided in favor of New Jersey.

Meanwhile East Jersey had undergone a complete change. In 1679, Sir George Carteret died; his affairs were in such a bad state that it was needful to sell his property for the benefit of his creditors. The Quakers, satisfied with the success of their settlement in West Jersey, decided to make a like

attempt in the eastern colony. Accordingly, Penn and eleven others purchased it from Carteret's representatives. But as East, unlike West, Jersey had already a large number of settlers, the new proprietors did not attempt to make it wholly a Quaker settlement. They associated with them a number of Scotchmen, and the colony was soon filled with Scotch emigrants. The government was like that of the western colony, except that the Council consisted of the proprietors and their deputies. The more important officers were to be appointed by the Governor and Council. All Christians were eligible for public offices, and no man was to be molested in any way for his religion.

James II.'s scheme for making one great State out of the northern colonies took in both the Jerseys. To carry it into execution, in 1686, writs of *Quo warranto* were issued against both governments. The professed grounds were some charges of smuggling brought against the inhabitants. The proprietors of East Jersey yielded their patent on condition that the king should not meddle with their private rights over the land. West Jersey would probably have been forced to do likewise, but, before the surrender of the eastern colony could take effect, James had ceased to reign.

The Revolution brought no change in the constitution of either of the colonies. By 1700, the number of settlers in East Jersey was about twelve thousand, and in West Jersey about eight thousand. The inhabitants were prosperous, though not wealthy. Like Virginia, the country was abundantly

Scene near Elizabethtown.

supplied with rivers, and water carriage was easy; but the settlers did not live in scattered plantations like the Virginians. There were some twelve towns, of which Burlington and Elizabethtown were the largest, each containing between two and three hundred houses. From the first the country seems to have been almost deserted by the Indians, and by 1700 there were not more than two hundred in both colonies. Their small number was not due to any cruelty on the part of the settlers. On the other hand, the two

races seem to have been perfectly friendly, and the English are said to have found the Indians so helpful that they wished for more of them.

Notwithstanding the prosperity of the two colonies, neither of them brought much good to their proprietors. Both changed hands several times, and in the process various disputes arose. Different persons claimed the governorship at the same time, each professing to be appointed by a majority of the proprietors. Besides this, the settlers became engaged in a dispute with New York. The government of that State, presuming on its old connection with New Jersey, attempted to levy a tax on the inhabitants. The Jersey settlers refused to pay, and the question was referred to the Crown lawyers in England. They ruled that no colony could be taxed, except by Act of Parliament or by its own Assembly. Wearied with these disputes, and finding little profit from their property, in 1702 the proprietors of both colonies surrendered their rights to the Crown. The two provinces were again united, and New Jersey became a royal colony. The new constitution was after the ordinary colonial pattern. There was to be a Governor and twelve Councillors, appointed by the Crown, and twenty-four Deputies elected by the people. The right of voting for deputies was confined to those who possessed a hundred acres of land, or fifty pounds worth of other property. The Governor was to appoint all officers, and to command the forces of the colony. Political equality was granted to all sects, except Roman Catholics. The first Governor appointed was Lord Cornbury. As in New York, he made himself odious by imposing exorbitant fees and interfering with the proceedings of the Assembly. Yet New Jersey fared somewhat better than New York, as, being fully occupied with his government of the latter colony, Lord Cornbury for the most part governed New Jersey by a deputy.

Of the early Quakers the most conspicuous was William Penn. In position, ability, and education he stood far above the generality of his sect. His father, Admiral Penn, was a distinguished seaman, and stood high in the favor of Charles II., by whom he was knighted. His son, while at Oxford, is said to have shown symptoms of those strict and unusual views in religious matters which he afterwards displayed more fully. This temper, however, seemed for a while to have disappeared, and he came back from a foreign tour with all the graces and accomplishments of a polished gentleman. Soon after this, it became known, to the dismay of his friends and the wonder of the fashionable world, that he had joined an obscure sect, headed by an illiterate and fanatical cobbler. His father cast him off, and the magistrates sent him to prison for attending Quaker meetings. After undergoing all these trials with unswerving constancy, he was at length reconciled to his father, and, like him, enjoyed the favor of the king and the Duke of York.

Penn was, as we have seen, a proprietor both in East and West New Jersey, and took a leading part in the settlement of those colonies. Soon afterwards, he bethought him of founding an exclusively Quaker colony, with laws and institutions suited to the peculiar views of his sect. With this object, in 1680 he got from the king a grant of land between Maryland and New York. This is said to have been given as a quittance for sixteen thousand pounds, lent by Admiral Penn to the Crown. The territory was called, by the wish of the king, Pennsylvania. The grant was opposed by the Privy Council, by the Council for Plantations, by the proprietors of New York and Maryland. All these obstacles, however, were overcome. At the same time Penn received a charter as proprietor, much like that granted to Baltimore. It gave him the power of making laws with the advice and assent of the freemen. It also gave him the command over the forces of the colony, a provision somewhat inconsistent with the principles of the Quakers, who condemned all war as sinful. In that year three ships sailed out with emigrants, and in the next year Penn himself followed. He drew up a set of rules for the first settlers. The most important of these was that no one was to have more than a thousand acres of land lying together, unless within three years he should plant a family on every thousand acres. To guard the Indians from being cheated, all trade with them was to be in open market. This year Penn got from the Duke of York a small grant of land at the south-east of New York, then called the Territories of Pennsylvania, and now forming the State of Delaware. This tract of land and Penn's original colony, as long as they remained under one government, were generally distinguished, the former as the Territories, the latter as the Province. The whole country was divided into six counties, three in the Province and three in the Territories. In May, 1682, Penn set forth the constitution. The government was to consist, as in the other colonies, of a Governor, Council, and Assembly. The councillors were not to be appointed by the proprietor, but chosen, as they had been in West Jersey, by the settlers. They were to be elected for three years, the deputies for one. Each county was to send members to the Council and to the Assembly. At the same time Penn published various laws. No conformity in religion was to be required from any private person beyond a belief in one God. All public officers, however, were to profess themselves Christians. All children were to be taught some trade, and the criminals in prisons were to be usefully

PENN'S ASSEMBLY-HOUSE.

r New York

employed. No part of Penn's conduct in settling his colony was more honorable than his treatment of the Indians. Soon after landing he held a conference with them, and laid the foundation of a lasting friendship. In none of the colonies were the relations between the two races so uniformly friendly as in Pennsylvania. For a long while the highest praise that the Indians could give a white man was to liken him to *Onas*, as they called Penn.

In May, 1684, Penn was forced by stress of business to return to England. Before he went he appointed a Governor in his place. Soon after his departure dissension arose from various causes. A violent dispute had broken out the year before with Maryland about boundaries. In 1684, the Marylanders attempted to possess themselves by force of some of the disputed lands. The question was settled in the next year by the English government. In 1690 a quarrel broke out between the Province and the Territories. Some of the deputies chosen by the Territories took upon themselves to usurp the place of the whole Assembly, and to carry on business in its name. Other disputes followed, and at length Penn thought it best to give the Territories a separate government. Penn's friendship for James II. naturally prejudiced William and Mary against him, and in 1692 he was deprived of his proprietorship on the ground that he had suffered the colony to fall into disorder. Fletcher, the Governor of New York, was then appointed Governor of Pennsylvania. He soon got into disputes with the Assembly. They held that the old constitution and laws were still in force, while he contended that the forfeiture of the charter had made them void. They also refused the help which he required for the protection of New York against the Indians. In 1694 Penn so far recovered favor with the Court as to be restored to his proprietorship. In 1696 the Assembly drew up a fresh form of government, to which Penn assented. The principal changes were that the number of councillors and deputies was reduced by one-third, and that the Assembly was empowered to meet of its own free-will, without being summoned by the Governor. In 1699 Penn again went out, but in less than two years he was called back by a report that the proprietary governments were in danger of being abolished, and he never revisited the colony. During his stay disputes again broke out between the Province and the Territories, which had been reunited under Fletcher. The deputies from the Territories, not being able to carry some measures for the good of their own country, left the Assembly altogether. Penn endeavored to mediate, but without success, and after his departure the feud grew worse. In 1701 Penn granted a fresh charter, one of the clauses in which allowed the Territories, if they chose, to separate from the Province. Accordingly, in 1703 they did so, and became a distinct State, known afterwards as Delaware. Besides this dispute, other dissensions arose. Penn does not seem to have

been fortunate in his choice of a Governor. Evans, who became Governor in 1704, and his successor, Gookin, both quarreled with the Assembly. In 1710 Penn pathetically complained in a letter which he wrote to the colonists, that he could not "but think it hard measure that, while that has proved a land of freedom and flourishing, it should become to me, by whose means it was principally made a country, the cause of grief, trouble, and poverty." Being moreover embarrassed in his private affairs, in 1712 Penn proposed to sell his right as proprietor to the Crown. Just before the sale could be completed he was seized with apoplexy, and for the remaining six years of his life he was incapable of doing any business. Thus the transfer was never made, and the proprietorship was handed down to Penn's descendants. They took little interest in the colony. They caused more than one dispute by putting forward a claim to hold their lands free from taxation, a demand which was always resisted by the Assembly.

None of the colonies, except perhaps New York, was better off for natural advantages than Pennsylvania. The climate was a mean between that of New England and the southern colonies. Timber was plentiful, the soil was fertile, and the rivers offered easy means of carriage. Philadelphia, the capital, was the best laid out and handsomest town in the colonies. The inhabitants were of various races and religions. Besides the Quakers, who for a long time formed the greater part of the population, there were Swedes, Germans, and Welsh. As in New England, there seem to have been few very rich men or great landed proprietors. In this, and in the general mode of life among the settlers, Pennsylvania resembled New York and the New England colonies.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE SETTLEMENT OF GEORGIA AND THE SPANISH WAR.

VIRGINIA and Georgia, the first and last of the English colonies in America, resemble one another in their origin. All the settlements that came between were either founded, like Maryland and Carolina, for the profit of the proprietors, or, like Pennsylvania and the New England colonies, as a refuge for a religious sect. Virginia and Georgia alone were established as homes for the poor and needy. In one point, however, they differed. Virginia was colonized by a company of merchants, who looked to their own gain as well as to the good of the settlers. The founders of Georgia were benevolent men, who did not aim at any profit to themselves, but only at founding a home for those who had no means of livelihood in England. Georgia may also be likened to a still earlier class of settlements, those planned by Gilbert and Raleigh. For it was meant to serve, and it did serve, as a military outpost to guard the older colonies, especially South Carolina, against Spanish invasion. About 1730, some benevolent persons were struck by the evil state of English prisons. At that time men could be, and commonly were, imprisoned for debt. The prisons in which they were confined were shamefully managed. They were dens of filth, and no heed was given to the health of the prisoners. About that time also many wild and foolish schemes of speculation had been set on foot, and had led to the ruin of many. Thus the debtors' prisons were unusually full, and their condition was worse than ever. One of the first to call attention to this was James Oglethorpe, a man of high birth and good education, an officer in the army, and a member of Parliament. From the outset of his public career, he devoted himself to bettering the lot of the wretched and helpless. By the account which he gave of the evil state of prisons, he got a committee of the House of Commons appointed, with himself as chairman, to inquire into the matter. He was not content with lightening the sufferings of those unhappy debtors. He bethought him of some means whereby those who

JAMES OGLETHORPE.

could find no livelihood in England could be put in the way of earning their bread, and so be saved from debt. To found a colony specially fitted for such a class seemed the readiest cure for the evil. Moreover, Oglethorpe, being a good soldier and a patriotic man, thought that the same scheme might be turned to account as a check on the Spaniards, who, as we have seen, threatened the southern counties of Carolina.

In 1732, Oglethorpe and other benevolent men formed a company to carry out this plan. They obtained a charter and a grant of all the land between the rivers Savannah and Altamaha, to form a province called Georgia, in honor of the king. Trustees were appointed, with full power to manage the affairs of the colony. At first they were to appoint the Governor and other officers. After four years these appointments were to be made by the Crown. Laws were to be made by the company and approved of by the Privy Council. The settlers themselves were to have no share in the government. Lest the company should try to make profit out of their scheme, no member of it was to hold any paid office in the colony. All the arrangements kept in view the two main ends, to make Georgia both a fit settlement for needy men working with their own hands and a strong outpost against the Spaniards. Most of the settlers were to be poor people, released debtors and bankrupt tradesmen, and those who, having large families, were in receipt of parish relief. These were to be sent out at the expense of the company. But, beside these, the company were ready to receive settlers who might choose to go out at their own expense. Still they wished to make it specially a poor man's settlement. With this view they prohibited slavery, as likely to interfere with free labor and to give rich men an advantage. Besides, a revolt of the slaves would have been specially dangerous with neighbors like the Spaniards on the frontier. No one was to hold more than five hundred acres of land, and, in order to keep up the number of proprietors, no land was allowed to be sold, and, if a man left no son, his lot was to become the property of the company. The object of this rule was to ensure a sufficient number of men fit for service in war. For the same reason all the settlers were to be drilled as soldiers. As some of the settlers were likely to be of unsteady habits, no rum was to be imported. The company hoped to have among their settlers some German Protestants, many of whom had lately been driven from their homes by fierce persecution, and with this view a clause was inserted in the charter providing that all foreigners who settled in Georgia should have the same rights as English citizens. So, too, men of all religions, except Roman Catholics, were to enjoy equal rights. To guard against any dispute with its English neighbors, the colony was set free by the Crown from any right which Carolina might have claimed over the land south of the Savannah.

Oglethorpe was appointed Governor of the colony, with power to choose a site for a settlement, and to manage all public affairs. On the 16th of November, 1732, he sailed from Gravesend with a hundred and twenty emigrants. On the 13th of January they landed in Carolina, where they were kindly received. Oglethorpe went up the river Savannah to select a place for a settlement. He chose a piece of high ground, round which the river flowed in the shape of a horse-shoe. It was about ten miles from the sea, and commanded a view of the river to its mouth. This was an advantage, as there was always a danger of the settlement being attacked by the Spaniards from the sea. The town was to be called Savannah, after the river. At the same time Oglethorpe made an alliance with the chief of the Creeks, the most powerful Indian nation in that quarter. On the 1st of February the colonists arrived at Savannah. The people of Carolina assisted them with supplies of food. In May, Oglethorpe held a conference with the Creeks. They promised not to meddle with the English settlers, and to let them occupy any land that they did not need for themselves. Presents were then exchanged; the Indians gave buckskins; Oglethorpe, guns, ammunition, cloth, and spirits.

Next year a band of German emigrants came over. They had been driven from Salzburg by a persecuting archbishop. Oglethorpe gave them their choice of land, and they settled about twenty miles from Savannah. They were well received both by English and Indians, and soon formed a prosperous settlement. In April, 1734, Oglethorpe returned to England, taking with him some of the Creek chiefs. The trustees now began to learn that men who had failed in England were not very likely to succeed in a colony. Accordingly they sent out some more German Protestants and a number of Scotch Highlanders. The latter, from their hardihood and warlike habits, were specially fitted for a colony which was likely to have to defend itself by arms. On his return to Georgia, Oglethorpe set to work to colonize the southern frontier. He planted a body of emigrants on an island at the mouth of the Altamaha, and called the settlement Frederica. This was intended to guard the colony against an attack from the south. The Highlanders were posted on the river sixteen miles inland. Another settlement called Augusta was founded two hundred and thirty miles up the river Savannah to guard the western frontier. Augusta and Frederica were both fortified, and other forts were erected near the mouth of the Altamaha.

In the meantime disputes had arisen at Savannah. Some of the settlers drew up a statement of their grievances, and laid it before the trustees. Their chief complaints were that Causton, whom Oglethorpe had left in charge of affairs, was tyrannical and unjust; that the colony could not thrive without the use of negroes; that the prohibition of rum was

injurious; that many of the settlers could not earn a livelihood; and that the state of the colony was so wretched that its inhabitants seized every opportunity of fleeing to Carolina. Some of these complaints seem to have been well founded. Causton's misconduct was so clear that he was removed from his office by Oglethorpe. The demand for rum was supported by the statements that the water of the country was too unwholesome to be drunk by itself; that, as rum was the chief product of the West Indies, the prohibition stopped the trade with those islands, and that thus the Georgia settlers lost the best market for their goods. As for the negroes, the only respectable settlers, the Highlanders and the Germans, protested that slaves would be both needless and dangerous. Still there is no doubt that the other emigrants were less fitted for hard work, and the sight of the Carolina settlers living on the proceeds of slave labor may naturally have made them wish for the same relief. It was also true that many of the settlers had fled, but generally because Oglethorpe had deprived some of the most idle and worthless of their share of food from the public stores. Still, if the grievances had been presented in a temperate and respectful way, they might have been considered; but those who took the chief part in complaining were lazy and dissolute, and mixed up their statements with violent and unjust abuse of Oglethorpe. Thus the trustees took little or no notice of them.

Oglethorpe soon had other troubles on his hands. Early in 1736, he sent an embassy to confer with the Spaniards about the boundaries of the colony, which were still unsettled. As the embassy did not return for some time, Oglethorpe became uneasy, and sailed to the south to inquire after them. His Indian allies wished to go with him, but he would only take a small number, lest they should fall out with the Spaniards. An island which they touched at was named by the Indians Cumberland, in honor of the Duke of Cumberland, who had shown their chiefs much kindness when they were in England. Here, and at another island further south, Oglethorpe set up forts, calling them Forts St. Andrew and St. George. These places were not included in the territory of Georgia, and were occupied by Oglethorpe as military outposts against the Spaniards. In a few days Oglethorpe met the embassy returning with civil messages from the Spaniards. In spite of this show of friendship, Oglethorpe soon had private information that the Spaniards were plotting against his colony. He feared that his Indian friends might attack the Spaniards, and thus give them a pretext for making war on Georgia. He took steps to prevent this by keeping a boat constantly on guard upon the Altamaha, to prevent, if possible, any Indian from crossing. He then sent an embassy to the Spaniards, to tell them what he had done. At the same time he sent to Carolina for help both by sea and land, and fortified and victualled Frederica. For

some time nothing was heard of the embassy. Alarmed at this, Oglethorpe sailed to the south. On reaching the frontier, he learnt that the Spaniards were advancing. They believed, as he afterwards found, that all the forces of the colony were at Frederica, and, accordingly, they were about to attack Fort St. George. Oglethorpe, however, fired his guns in such a way as to make the Spaniards suppose that a ship and a battery on land were saluting one another. Thus he tricked the Spaniards into the belief that fresh forces had come up, and they retreated in confusion. A few days later they sent an embassy which met Oglethorpe near Frederica. Their meeting was friendly. The Spaniards promised to make amends for some wrongs that they had done the Indians, and Oglethorpe at the same time agreed to withdraw his soldiers from Fort St. George. This he did, and stationed them instead on an island somewhat further north, which he named Amelia Island.

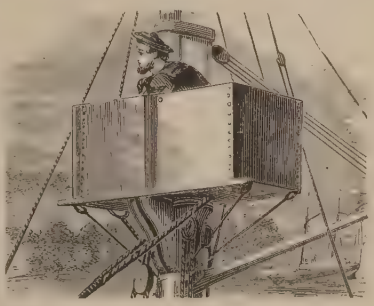
Things now were quiet enough for Oglethorpe to return to England. While he was there, the Spanish Ambassador presented a memorial to the English government, requesting that no more troops should be sent to Georgia, and that Oglethorpe should not be allowed to return thither. This request was of course disregarded, and in September, 1738, Oglethorpe went back, having raised a regiment in England for the defence of the colony. In October a mutiny broke out among his troops, caused, it was thought, by the intrigues of the Spaniards; but it was easily quelled. In the next summer Oglethorpe undertook a long and difficult journey into the Indian country, to see some of the chiefs and stop negotiations which he heard were going forward between the Indians and the Spaniards. For two hundred miles he saw neither house nor human being. When he reached the Indian settlements, the fame of his goodness and his friendship for the Indians had gone before him, and he was received with all kindness and hospitality. The Indians complained of wrongs done them by some traders from Carolina. Oglethorpe promised to make amends for these, and a treaty was arranged.

In this autumn the war between England and Spain, which had long seemed at hand, broke out. The Spaniards, like the English, forbade all foreign vessels to trade with their colonies. This law was broken by English merchants, and, in consequence, the Spanish guardships frequently stopped and searched English vessels. Many stories were afloat, some probably true, others certainly exaggerated, if not false, of the cruelties inflicted by Spanish officials on English sailors. One man in particular, named Jenkins, excited great public indignation by declaring that the Spaniards had cut off his ears. Besides this, the Spanish government demanded that the colony in Georgia should be removed, as it threatened the frontier of Florida. Walpole, then at the head of the ministry, did not think there was ground enough for war, but it was clear that both Parliament and the nation were against him, and that he would have to declare war, or to resign. He

loved the peace of his country well, but he loved his own power better, and yielded. In October, 1739, war was declared, and Oglethorpe received orders to annoy Florida. The first blow was struck by the Spaniards. In December they fell upon the force at Amelia Island, but retreated after killing two Highlanders. Oglethorpe, though ill-supplied with arms and ammunition, thought that his best policy was to act on the offensive, and march boldly on St. Augustine, the chief Spanish fort. He could depend on the Indians, and many of the settlers were able and ready for service. His first step was to send out a small force, which captured a Spanish outpost called Picolata. It was important to hasten proceedings, as the English navy was now blockading Cuba, the chief Spanish island in the West Indies, and thus the Spaniards in Florida were less likely to receive any help. Unluckily, the Government of Carolina were slow in sending Oglethorpe the help that he asked for. In May he determined to set forth without it, and with his own regiment, numbering four hundred, some of the Georgia militia, and a body of Indians, he marched into the Spanish territory. At first, things went well with him. He captured three small forts, and met with no serious opposition till he reached St. Augustine. This was a strongly fortified place, and well furnished with artillery. The number of men in it was two thousand, about the same as the whole English land force. Oglethorpe resolved on a joint attack by sea and land. But the commodore commanding the English ships had effectually secured their harbor; so that plan was abandoned. Oglethorpe then attempted to bombard the place, but without success. The Spaniards then made a sortie, and fell upon a small force that Oglethorpe had left in one of the captured forts. If Oglethorpe's orders had been obeyed, his troops would have avoided an engagement, but they despised the enemy, and rashly allowed themselves to be surrounded, and were nearly all killed or taken. About the same time Oglethorpe lost some of his Indian allies. One of them thought to please him by bringing him the head of a Spaniard. Oglethorpe indignantly ordered him out of his sight. The Indians took offence at this, and many of them departed. It was soon seen that the English fleet could not keep the Spaniards

A Swamp in Florida

from bringing in supplies from the sea, and that any attempt at a blockade would be useless. Oglethorpe then resolved to try his first plan of an assault, and made all preparations. But before the time came, the fleet withdrew, driven away, as their commanders said, by fear of hurricanes. The Carolina troops, who had now come up, were but little help, and some of them, even officers, deserted. Many of Oglethorpe's own men were sick. It was soon clear that the attack must be abandoned, and in June Oglethorpe retreated. Though he had failed in his main object, yet his march probably kept the Spaniards in check, and withheld them for some time from any active operations against Georgia or Carolina.



LOOK-OUT.

In the autumn of 1740, England sent out one of the finest fleets that she had ever put on the sea, to act against the Spaniards in the West Indies. There were thirty ships of the line and eighty-five other vessels, with fifteen thousand seamen and a land force of twelve thousand soldiers on board. Unluckily, Admiral Vernon, who commanded the fleet, and General Wentworth, who commanded the land force, could not agree, and nothing was done. In the following July an attack was made on Cuba, but it was an utter failure, and the Spaniards were left free to employ all their forces against the English settlements. Accordingly, early in 1742 they made ready for an invasion. The woods, held as they were by Indians friendly to the English, were a sufficient guard on the land side. Thus the Spaniards could make their attack only from the sea. As they could not safely leave a strong place like Frederica in their rear, it was necessary as a first step to take it, and thus it became the key of the country. St. Simons, the island on which Frederica stood, was about twelve miles long and from two to five miles broad. Frederica was on the west side facing the mainland, and the only approach to it was a road running for two miles between a forest and a marsh, and so narrow that only two men could go abreast. On every other side Frederica was protected by thick woods.

On the 5th of July the Spaniards began by attacking St. Simons, a fort on the east side of the island. They had a fleet of thirty-six ships, but were beaten off by the batteries, after an engagement which lasted four hours. Oglethorpe, however, doubting whether St. Simons could be defended, destroyed it, lest it should fall into the enemy's hands, and collected his whole force in Frederica. Two days later his Indian scouts brought news that the Spaniards were two miles from town. Oglethorpe at once marched out at

the head of his light troops, fell upon the Spanish vanguard and routed them, taking two prisoners with his own hand. He pursued the Spaniards for about a mile, and then halted till his regular troops had come up. These he posted in the woods, and returned to Frederica to prepare for defence. The Spaniards marched forward and halted within a hundred yards of the main ambush, who opened a heavy fire upon them. In spite of the disgraceful flight of the larger part of the English force, the Spaniards were utterly defeated with a loss of three hundred, besides those who fled to the woods and were there killed by the Indians. The Spaniards, having failed by land, tried an attack by sea, but were beaten off by the guns of the fort. Nevertheless, the English were far from safe. Their stock of food was scanty, and if this and the smallness of their force became known, the enemy were almost sure to return to the attack. The English, therefore, were much alarmed when they found that a Frenchman who had joined them with some volunteers had fled to the Spaniards. In this strait Oglethorpe bribed a Spanish prisoner to take a letter professedly to the Frenchman, but really meant to fall into the hands of the Spanish commander. This letter told the Frenchman that he was to be rewarded for misleading the Spaniards as to the English force, and so tempting them to rush into destruction. The Spaniards fell into the trap, and believed that the Frenchman was really a friend to the English. Oglethorpe had also said in his letter, to alarm the Spaniards, that he expected some ships in a day or two. Just at this time, by good fortune, some English ships appeared in the distance. This confirmed the Spaniards in their distrust, and they at once embarked hastily, leaving their fire-arms and ammunition behind them. On their way back they attacked some of the English forts, but were beaten off, and then retreated into their own territories. On the 14th of July a public thanksgiving was celebrated in Georgia for the deliverance of the colony. After their defeat no further attempt was made by the Spaniards to molest the English settlements.

METHOD OF CARRYING A SHELL.

Next year Oglethorpe sailed to England, and never again visited the colony that he had founded and saved. But his memory was long held in honor there, and a city and county were called after him, and kept alive his name. Of all the founders of American colonies, from Raleigh onwards, none deserve such high honor as Oglethorpe. Penn labored unsparingly and wisely, but it was for a sect to which he belonged, and for a colony

which bore his name. Winthrop and his friends left their homes and gave up all their hopes of prosperity and greatness in England, but it was to become the rulers of a new State and to win a refuge from tyranny for themselves and their children. Oglethorpe, urged by a yet nobler and more unselfish spirit, overcame the temptations of riches and high birth, cast behind him the pleasures of the world and forsook the society of friends, to spend the best years of his life in toil and hardship, with no hope of earthly reward beyond the fickle gratitude of those whom he served.

After Oglethorpe's departure, the trustees placed the government in the hands of a President and four assistants. They were to hold four courts a year, to manage the affairs of the colony and to try law-suits, but they might not spend money without the consent of the trustees. It was soon found that some of the restraints placed on the settlers were injurious to the colony. In the first seven years Parliament granted ninety-four thousand pounds towards the advancement of the settlement, and fifteen hundred emigrants were sent out from England, but not more than half of these stayed in Georgia. The trustees thought that the restriction on the sale of land had led many of the settlers to leave the colony, and accordingly they removed it. Still the colony did not thrive. Nearly all the inhabitants, except the Germans and the Highlanders, were idle and discontented. In 1752 the trustees, dissatisfied with the result, gave up their charter to the Crown. A government was established, modelled on that of South Carolina. The prohibition of slavery and of the importation of rum was done away with, and Georgia became in every respect like the other southern colonies.

CHAPTER XV.

THE CONQUEST OF CANADA AND OF THE OHIO VALLEY

BESIDES Canada, the French had another colony in North America. This was Louisiana, a fertile tract of land at the mouth of the Mississippi. In 1673, Marquette, a Jesuit missionary, starting from Canada, had penetrated into the countries now forming the State of Wisconsin, and had journeyed some way down the Mississippi. A few years later, La Salle, a French fur-trader, descended the Mississippi to the sea. In 1684 he persuaded the French government to found a colony at the mouth of the river. He then explored the whole valley of the Mississippi; but, before he could bring back the report of his discoveries, he was murdered by two of his own followers. The position of this southern French colony threatened the English settlements with not a little danger. If once the French could connect Canada and Louisiana by a continuous range of forts along the valleys of the Ohio and the Mississippi, they would completely surround the English settlements. They would form, as it has been described, a bow, of which the English colonies were the string. Even if these did not annoy the English settlers, they would withhold them from spreading towards the west. William III. saw the danger of this, and planned a scheme for placing a number of French Protestants on the Mississippi as a check on the French settlements there. This, however, came to nothing. Like Canada, Louisiana was, in its early years, unprosperous. But about 1730 it began to flourish, and in a few years it contained seven thousand inhabitants. Measured by actual numbers, the French colonies seemed no match for the English. In 1740 the former contained only fifty-two thousand Europeans, the latter nearly a million. But their alliance with the Indians, and the strength of their position, made the French dangerous. Moreover they had the advantage of being all under a single governor.

The two French colonies were separated by the valleys of the Ohio and the Mississippi. Between the Ohio and Virginia lay dense forests and a range of mountains, the Alleghanies, rising at some points to four thousand feet, and in few places to less than three thousand. The French and English both claimed this territory, the former on the strength of Marquette's and La Salle's discoveries, the latter by a treaty made with the Mohawks in 1744. It seemed doubtful, however, whether the lands in question really belonged to the Mohawks, and also whether the treaty gave the

English more than the east side of the river. But in a dispute of such importance between two nations who had been lately at war, neither side was likely to be very scrupulous as to the grounds of its claims. Before 1749 no regular settlements had been formed by the English beyond the Alleghanies, and the mountains had only been crossed by traders. But in that year a small body of rich men in England, called the Ohio Company, obtained from the king a grant of six hundred thousand acres of land in the Ohio valley. This, as probably was expected, soon brought the dispute to an issue. In 1752 the French governor proceeded to connect Canada and Louisiana by a line of forts. Thereupon, Dinwiddie, the governor of Virginia, sent a com-

THE FRENCH FORT.

missioner to warn the French commander that he was trespassing, and to find out the real state of affairs there. For this task he chose George Washington. He was twenty-one years old, of good family, brought up as a land-surveyor. That he stood high in the governor's esteem is shown by his holding a commission as major in the Virginia militia, and being chosen, in spite of his youth, for this difficult service. After a wearisome journey through the wilderness, Washington reached the spot where the Alleghany and Monongahela meet to form the Ohio. These rivers here run in a westerly direction. About ten miles further up, the Monongahela is joined by another river of some size, the Youghioghany. Besides this, two smaller streams rise in the land between the Alleghany and the Monongahela, and

fall one into each river. Thus the fork of land between the two rivers was strongly guarded on every side by water. Its position was in other ways suitable for a fort. Washington was well received by the Indians, who had already met the French. The French they regarded as trespassers, while they do not seem to have suspected the English of being anything more than traders. The French fort lay a hundred and twenty miles beyond the meeting of the streams. On Washington's arrival the French commander received him with great civility, but he professed to have no power to make terms, and said that any application must be made to the governor of Canada; he himself was only acting under orders, and could not withdraw. On his return Dinwiddie at once called together the Assembly and laid the matter before them. Some of them questioned the English claim to the lands, but at length they voted ten thousand pounds for the encouragement and protection of the settlers in the west. At the same time Dinwiddie wrote to the governors of the other colonies to ask for help. North Carolina alone answered to the call, and voted twelve thousand pounds. There were now in the colonies three classes of soldiers. I. There were the militia of each colony. II. There were the colonial regular troops, raised by each colony at its own expense. These, like the militia, were commanded by officers appointed by the governor of the colony. III. There were the king's Americans; regiments raised in the colonies, but commanded by officers commissioned by the king. These last were dependent solely on the crown, and had no connection with any colony in particular. The crown also had the right of appointing superior officers, whose command extended over the first and second, as well as over the third class. It does not seem to have been clearly settled whether the colonial officers took equal rank with the king's officers, and this question gave rise to many disputes and to much inconvenience. The Virginia force consisted, beside the militia, of six companies of a hundred men each, of which Washington was lieutenant-colonel. To quicken their zeal and to get recruits, Dinwiddie promised a grant of two hundred thousand acres of land on the Ohio, to be divided among the troops, and to be free of all rent for fifteen years. This also was to serve as a standing military outpost. In April, Washington set out towards the Ohio, with three companies. He sent a small party in advance, who began to build a fort at the meeting of the rivers. The French surrounded this fort, compelled the occupants to retire, and took possession of the place, which they strengthened and called Fort Duquesne. News of this reached Washington when he was about ninety miles off. The French force was believed to be much stronger than his; nevertheless he decided to push on and take up a position on the banks of the Monongahela. Soon after, he learned from the Indians that a small force was marching towards him. On May 27th he set off with forty soldiers and some Indians, and the next day he

met the enemy. It is uncertain which side began the engagement. After a short skirmish, the French force, which numbered about fifty, was defeated; the commander, Jumonville, and ten others were killed, and twenty-two captured. The French have represented this as a treacherous onslaught made on men who had come on a peaceful embassy. Washington, on the other hand, declared that the French evidently approached with hostile intentions. The French also represented that Jumonville was murdered during a conference. This was undoubtedly false, and throws discredit on their whole story. After the fight, Washington, finding that the whole French force would be upon him, entrenched himself at a spot called Great Meadow, some fifty miles from Fort Duquesne. On the 2d of July he was attacked by a force of about seven hundred men. The engagement lasted from four in the morning till eight at night. The French then demanded a parley. Washington, finding that he could not hold his ground, surrendered the fort, on condition that he might carry off all his effects except his artillery. He also promised not to occupy that place, or any other beyond the Alleghany Mountains, for a year. In spite of his retreat, Washington's conduct was highly approved of, and he and his officers received a vote of thanks from the Virginian Assembly. Dinwiddie was for sending out at once another and a larger expedition; but it was soon clear that, before anything effective could be done, snow and frost would make the mountains impassable.

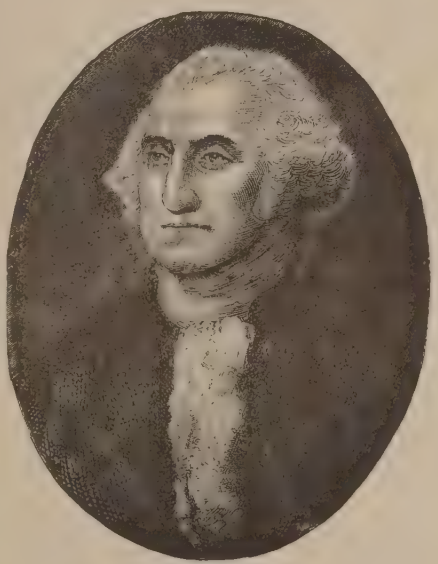
During this same summer, by the recommendation of the English government, deputies from the different colonies met at Albany, to discuss a general scheme of defence. Representatives attended from New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, Maryland, and Pennsylvania. At the suggestion of Shirley, the governor of Massachusetts, they discussed a scheme for a union of all the colonies. The author of this scheme was Benjamin Franklin, a native of Boston, who had emigrated in his youth to Pennsylvania. He was by trade a printer. By his energy and ability he had become one of the most influential men in his own colony. In Philadelphia he had already introduced many useful improvements, an academy, a public library, a fire brigade, and a board for paving and cleaning the streets. He now proposed that the colonies should apply to Parliament for an Act uniting them all under one government. The separate colonial governments were to remain as before, but there was to be one federal government over them all. There was to be a president appointed by the king, and a board of representatives elected by the people of each colony. The number of representatives from each colony was to be proportionate to its contribution to the general treasury. But the scheme was unpopular both in England and in the colonies. The English government feared that it would make the colonies too strong, while the Americans

disliked it as increasing the authority of the crown, and interfering with the different colonial assemblies. Thus the scheme fell to the ground. At the same time Franklin proposed that two fresh colonies should be formed in the disputed territory. This, too, came to nothing.

In 1755 a force under the command of General Braddock was sent out from England to protect the American frontier. The Virginia regiment had been broken up into six separate companies. By this change Washington had been reduced from the rank of lieutenant-colonel to that of a captain. Disgusted at this, he had resigned his commission. He was now asked to serve as a volunteer with Braddock, and gladly accepted the offer. At the outset of the campaign Braddock was hindered by the misconduct of the contractors, who failed to supply the wagons that they had promised. This difficulty was overcome by the activity and ability of Franklin. On the 9th of July, 1755, Braddock, with twelve hundred picked men, forded the Monongahela and entered the valley of the Ohio. Franklin had reminded him of the danger of a march in the woods, and the fear of ambuscades, but Braddock scorned the warning, as coming from a colonist and a civilian. Just after the whole force had crossed the Monongahela, they heard a quick and heavy fire in their front. The two foremost detachments fell back, and the whole force was in confusion. The officers, conspicuous on horseback, were picked off by riflemen. Braddock had five horses killed under him, and was at length mortally wounded. The officers behaved with great courage, and strove to rally their troops, but in vain. The men lost all sense of discipline, fired so wildly that they did more harm to their own side than to the enemy, and then fled, leaving their artillery, provisions, and baggage. The colonial troops alone behaved well; Washington himself had two horses shot under him, and four bullets through his coat, and yet was unhurt. The total loss in killed and wounded was over seven hundred, while that of the enemy did not amount to one hundred. Braddock died two days afterwards, and was buried secretly, lest his body should be insulted by the Indians.

In the next summer Washington was appointed colonel of the Virginia forces, including the militia and the colonial regulars. Few commanders have ever had a harder task set before them. The frontier was attacked by bands of Indians, urged on by the French. Living, as the Virginians did, each on his own separate plantation, such attacks were specially dangerous. Washington wished them to collect together in small settlements, but his advice does not seem to have been followed. The rich valley of the Shenandoah, the furthest land on which the English colonists had settled, seemed likely to be wholly deserted. Meanwhile the defences of the frontier were in a state of utter weakness and confusion. Washington was ill supplied with stores and men. Desertions became so frequent that at one time nearly

one-half of the militia was employed in capturing the other half. No one clearly knew what were the limits of Washington's power, or how far he had any authority over the forces sent out from other colonies. The neighboring governments, too, were backward in sending help. The governors were for the most part zealous, but the assemblies were so jealous of anything like arbitrary power that they were more anxious to restrain their governors than to further the common cause. In Pennsylvania, which with Virginia was in the greatest danger, the governor and assembly could not agree about taxation. The assembly were willing to grant a supply; but the governor, in obedience to the proprietors, insisted that the proprietary lands should be free from taxation. To this the assembly naturally objected, and no money could be raised. Moreover, each colony cared only for the defence of its own frontier. Even among the Virginians themselves this feeling prevailed, and Washington was more than once hindered by the anxiety of his officers to guard their own plantations.



GEORGE WASHINGTON.

On the northern frontier matters were not much better. In 1755 three expeditions were prepared against Canada. The first was planned altogether by the Massachusetts government. Its object was to recover the country between the peninsula of Acadia and the St. Lawrence, which the English claimed under the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, and which now is called New Brunswick. For this a force of seven hundred men was sent out in May. The French forts were weakly defended, and by June the New Englanders found themselves masters of the whole territory south of the St. Lawrence.

When Acadia was given up to the English in 1712, the French inhabitants took the oath of allegiance to the English government. At the same time they asked not to be forced in time of war to take up arms against the French. No formal agreement was made, but it seems to have been understood that they would be allowed to stand neutral. At the capture of Fort Beaujeu, the chief French fortress taken by the New Englanders, three hundred Acadians were found among the garrison. The Acadians them-

selves declared that they had been impressed against their will by the French commander. The English government, however, was afraid to leave a people of doubtful loyalty in a place of such importance, and resolved to banish them in a body. This may have been necessary, but it was undoubtedly carried out with needless harshness. At five days' notice, more than ten thousand persons were banished from their homes. Nothing was done by the English in authority to lighten this blow, much to increase it. Families were torn asunder, and a prosperous and peaceful country reduced to a wilderness. Some of the Acadians escaped to Canada, but most were shipped to the English colonies, where many were left to beg their bread among people of a different race and speech.

Besides the expedition from Massachusetts, two others were made, which had been planned by Braddock before he set out himself. One force under General Johnson was to occupy Ticonderoga, an important place on Lake St. George, hitherto neglected by the French. Dieskau, the French commander in Canada, marched out against Johnson. At first the French had the best of it, but the militia and the Indian allies could not stand against the English artillery; Dieskau was compelled to retreat, and in the retreat was dangerously wounded. The English, however, failed to follow up their success, and allowed the French to occupy Ticonderoga. The other force, that under Shirley, contented itself with fortifying Oswego, a place on the frontier of New York. Hitherto hostilities had been confined to America, but in the next year war was formally declared between England and France. One hundred and fifteen thousand pounds was sent out by the English government for the defence of the colonies, and preparations were made for a great American campaign. But, partly through the slackness of the various colonial governments, partly through an outbreak of small-pox among the troops, nothing whatever was done. Montcalm, Dieskau's successor, was a brave and skilful soldier. With five thousand men he marched against Oswego, and took it. This place was on the territory of the Mohawks, and they had looked on its fortification with jealousy. Montcalm, to assure them that the French had no designs against them, destroyed the fort. Next year things went on much as before. Montcalm captured Fort William Henry, an English stronghold on the upper waters of the Hudson. In this year a dispute arose between the English commander-in-chief, Lord Loudon, and two of the colonial governments, those of New York and Massachusetts. The colonists denied that the Act of Parliament which provided for the billeting of soldiers was binding on the colonies, and declared that special leave must be granted by the various colonial governments. New York soon gave way. Massachusetts was so obstinate that Lord Loudon threatened to march all his troops into Boston. The Massachusetts government then came to a compromise. It passed an Act ordering that the sol-

diers should have the accommodation that they needed. Thus, while the colonists yielded, they implied, by passing this law, that the Act of Parliament did not bind them.

The ill-fortune of the English arms was not confined to America. In Europe they were defeated by sea and land. The spirit of the nation seemed utterly broken. But a mighty change was at hand. In 1758, Pitt became secretary of state, with a strong and popular ministry at his back. He breathed fresh life into English forces in every quarter. Nowhere was the change more felt than in America. Pitt, beyond all statesmen then living, understood the importance of the American colonies, and knew how to deal with their inhabitants. He ordered that the colonial troops should be supplied with munitions at the expense of the English government. At the same time he won the hearts of the Americans by an order that the colonial officers should hold equal rank with those commissioned by the Crown. He also planned an expedition against Fort Duquesne. Washington had repeatedly urged the necessity of this, declaring that the colonies would never be safe so long as that post was held by the French. The expedition was somewhat hindered by the commander, General Forbes, who, instead of marching along the road already made by Braddock, insisted on cutting a fresh one, more direct, but over a more difficult country. It was believed in America that he was persuaded to this by the Pennsylvanians, to whom the new road was a lasting gain. An advanced detachment of about seven hundred men shared the fate of Braddock's army. But, when the main body of six thousand men advanced, the French, finding themselves too weak to hold the fort, retreated. Thus it was decided that England, and not France, was to possess the valley of the Ohio and the rich territory of the west. The name of Fort Duquesne was changed to Pittsburgh, in honor of the statesman to whom the colonists owed this great gain.

Two other expeditions were sent out this year; the first against Cape Breton, the second against Ticonderoga. These were warmly supported by the colonists. Massachusetts sent seven thousand men, Connecticut five thousand, and New Hampshire three thousand. The whole force sent against Louisburg, the chief stronghold in Cape Breton, consisted of fourteen thousand men. Against this the French had little more than three thousand. The defeat of the French fleet by Admiral Hawke, off Brest, made it impossible to send help to Canada, and Louisburg surrendered. This gave the English possession of the whole island of Cape Breton. The other expedition was less successful. In a fruitless attempt against Ticonderoga, General Abercrombie lost two thousand men, and retreated. This failure was to some extent made up for by the capture of Fort Frontenac, a strong place on the west side of Lake Ontario. The next year, three armies

were sent against Canada. One under General Wolfe was to ascend the St. Lawrence, and attack Quebec. A second was to march against Ticonderoga, and then to descend the St. Lawrence, and join Wolfe. The third was to attack Niagara and Montreal, and then, if possible, to join the other

WOLFE'S MONUMENT, QUEBEC.

two. The two latter forces failed to join Wolfe, who was then left to attack Quebec single-handed. Quebec stands on a rock over the St. Lawrence, and just above the junction of that river with the St. Charles. Thus it is placed in a fork of the two rivers, and being guarded on three sides by water, can only be attacked from the north-west. To reach it on that side, Wolfe would have to cross the St. Lawrence and to scale its north bank, which is lofty and precipitous. Another river, the Montmorency, joins the St. Lawrence about six miles below Quebec. The French force under Montcalm was stationed between the Montmorency and the St. Charles. The position of the town seemed to defy an attack, and

even the fearless heart of Wolfe sank. With little hope of success, he crossed the St. Lawrence below its meeting with the Montmorency, and attacked Montcalm, but was beaten back, partly through the eagerness of his vanguard, who rushed forward before the main body could cross the Montmorency to support them. As a last resource Wolfe resolved to cross the river above Quebec, and to attack the town from the north-west. The stream was rapid, the landing difficult, and the precipice above the river could only be climbed by one narrow path. Nevertheless, the English army crossed in the night, and safely reached the heights above the river. So desperate did this attempt seem that, when Montcalm heard of it, he imagined that it was only a feint to draw him from his post. When he learned his error, he at once marched by the city and made ready for battle. After a fierce engagement, in which Wolfe was killed and Montcalm mortally wounded, the French were defeated. The battle decided the fate of Quebec. Montcalm, when told that he had but a few hours to live, replied that it was best so, as he should escape seeing Quebec surrendered. No attempt was made to defend the place, and it was given up to the English, who garrisoned it with five thousand men. In the next campaign, the whole energies of the French were devoted to the recovery of Quebec. Sickness reduced the garrison to three thousand. Nevertheless, when the French army appeared, Murray, the English commander, marched out, and engaged them on the same ground on which Wolfe had triumphed. This time the French were successful, and the English troops retreated to the city with a loss of a thousand men. The French then proceeded to bombard the place. Fortunately the river, which was usually blocked with ice till late in the spring, that year became open unusually early, and the English fleet was able to sail up and relieve the city. The French now fell back upon Montreal, their only important stronghold left. A force of more than ten thousand men appeared before the place; Montreal surrendered, and the rest of Canada soon followed.

In the meantime the southern colonies had become engaged in a war with their Indian allies. The Cherokees, the most powerful and warlike of the southern tribes, had been dissatisfied with their treatment by the English, and, being pressed by want of food, had plundered some settlements on the Virginia frontier. Hostilities followed, in which some Cherokee chiefs and some Carolina settlers were slain. Lyttleton, the governor of South Carolina, demanded the surrender of one Cherokee for every Englishman killed. The Indians refused, and Lyttleton declared war on them. They then sent messengers to excuse what they had done, and to offer presents. Lyttleton not only refused to hear them, but arrested them. The Cherokee chiefs thereupon signed a treaty, promising to surrender twenty-four of their nation, and allowing Lyttleton to keep his prisoners

till this was done. But the Cherokee nation afterwards disclaimed the treaty, and declared that it had been made without their authority. Soon after, an English soldier who had charge of the hostages was killed by them. The soldiers in revenge killed the hostages. War now broke out, and the English invaded and desolated the Cherokee country. At the same time the Cherokees besieged and captured Fort Loudon, an English fort on the Tennessee. In a spirit of rude justice they put to death twenty-seven of the prisoners, including the commander, that being the number of the ambassadors seized by Lyttleton. The rest they carried off as captives. During 1760 and 1761, the English wasted the Cherokee country, but failed to strike any decisive blow. In September, 1761, however, the Cherokees, wearied out, sued for peace, and the war ended.

The peace of Paris in 1762 completely overthrew the French power in America. Before the terms of peace were settled, doubts had arisen among English statesmen whether it would be best to hold Canada, or to give it back to France, keeping instead Guadaloupe, an island in the West Indies, which had been taken by England from France, in the course of the war. Some thought that it was well to have French settlements on the frontier, as a check on the English colonists. Pitt, by his anxiety for the conquest of the Ohio Valley, had disclaimed any such ungenerous idea. The colonists themselves wished to be relieved from the duty of guarding a wide frontier. This view prevailed, and Canada and all Louisiana east of the Mississippi became English possessions. The new territory was divided into three provinces, Canada, and East and West Florida, the former to the north of Massachusetts, the two latter to the south of Georgia. These latter must not be confounded with the state which afterwards bore the name of Florida. The whole territory to the west of the Ohio was to be left unoccupied, partly to conciliate the natives, partly, it was thought, from dread of the rapidly growing strength of the colonies.

The English were not suffered to hold their new possessions in the west undisturbed. In 1763 a number of the Indian tribes, headed by Pontiac, a distinguished warrior of the Ottawa nation, took up arms. They destroyed most of the settlements in the Ohio Valley, massacred more than a hundred traders, and drove five hundred families to take refuge in the woods. The two strongest English forts, Detroit and Fort Pitt, were besieged, and were for a while in serious danger, but the garrisons held out bravely. The English were slow in sending help. Maryland and Virginia came forward readily, but Pennsylvania, as in the French war, was backward. As soon as the English forces marched against them, the enemy gave way. Partly from necessity, and partly by the advice of a French officer who had not yet departed, the Indians sued for peace, and the English again held the eastern bank of the Ohio in safety.

CHAPTER XVI.

GENERAL VIEW OF THE THIRTEEN COLONIES.

BEFORE going further, it will be well to take a general view of the thirteen colonies whose origin we have traced. By 1750 the whole population, not counting negroes, amounted to about a million and a quarter. Certain general points of likeness, as we have seen, ran through the institutions of all the different colonies. All of them had governments which were, to some extent, modeled on that of the mother country. In all, the citizens retained their English rights of electing their own representatives and being tried by juries of their own countrymen. But, in spite of these points of likeness, the colonies were marked off from one another by great and manifold differences. Roughly speaking, we may say that the colonies fell into two great groups, the Northern and the Southern; the former taking in those north of Maryland, the latter Maryland and those beyond it. This difference was partly due to climate, and partly to the sources from which the first settlers had been drawn. The latter cause has been already mentioned. The climate and soil of the South were suited to the cultivation of rice and tobacco, crops which require little skill on the part of the husbandman. Moreover, the heat and the unwholesome air of the South, especially in the rice swamps of Carolina, make it difficult for Europeans to work there. Thus slave labor became the usual means of tillage in the South. The climate of the Northern colonies, on the other hand, needed a system of mixed farming, which requires intelligence and care, and for which slaves therefore are unfit. Thus the class of yeomanry and peasant farmers, who formed the bulk of the population in the North, were almost unknown in the South. There was also a wide difference in religion between the Northern and Southern colonies. In all the Southern colonies the Church of England was established by law. Its clergy enjoyed tithes and glebes, and the majority of the people belonged to it. The Northern colonies, on the other hand, were for the most part founded by men actively hostile to the English Church, and they kept more or less of the character with which they had started. While such differences as these existed, it seemed unlikely that the colonies could ever be combined under a single government. Two other things helped to make this more difficult. The original grants of land had been drawn up so carelessly that there was scarcely a colony which had not

had disputes about boundaries with its neighbors, disputes which had sometimes led to actual violence. Moreover, the populations of the various colonies differed widely in size. We have seen how injurious such a difference was to the confederation of the New England colonies. If it was impossible to found a firm and lasting union between four colonies so like in their origin and character, because of that one drawback, how much more would it be so with thirteen colonies differing in religion, climate, character, and to some extent in race. Schemes for union had been at different times suggested, but none had got over this difficulty. If the large colonies were allowed any superiority on account of their greater size, then the independence of the smaller colonies would be endangered. If all took equal rank, the larger colonies might fairly complain that they bore more than an equal share of the burden without any corresponding gain.

The relation of the colonies generally to the mother country may be, to some extent, seen from what has gone before. Scarcely any had altogether avoided disputes with the English government, but nowhere, except perhaps in Massachusetts after the Restoration, had these disputes ever seemed to threaten separation. Various Acts of Parliament were passed, forbidding the colonists to make certain articles for themselves, lest they should interfere with the manufactures of the mother country. But neither these nor the navigation laws, though they sounded harsh, seem to have been felt as a serious grievance. The navigation laws were for the most part set at nought, and few attempts were made on the part of the Custom House officers to enforce them. Sir Robert Walpole, it is said, even admitted that it was well to connive at American smuggling, since of the money made in the colonies the greater part was sure to find its way to England. The restrictions on manufactures were no real hardship, as it was cheaper for the Americans to import articles from England than to make them for themselves. In a country where land is cheap and fertile, and where therefore any man of moderate industry can make his livelihood as a peasant farmer, it is impossible to get artisans without paying much higher wages than are given in a country like

John Adams

England, where land is costly. Thus the colonists could not at that time make articles so cheap as those manufactured in England. In fact, as John Adams, one of the ablest American statesmen, said, America and Europe were two worlds, one fitted for manufacture, the other for production, and each made to supply the wants of the other. The greatest grievance which the colonists had against England was the character of the governors sent out. Too many of them were men of evil reputation, ruined at home, and looking upon their colonial governments merely as means of retrieving their fortunes. Nothing interfered more with the friendly relations between England and America than the fact that the home government depended on these men for most of its information about the colonies.

Slavery, as I have already said, was one of the great leading points of difference between the Northern and Southern colonies. By the middle of the eighteenth century slavery had reached such dimensions in the Southern colonies as to be a serious source of uneasiness. In Virginia the number of negroes was two to every three white men. In South Carolina the numbers were equal. The injurious effect on the industry and social life of the Southern colonies was already felt. When once slavery becomes prevalent, labor is looked down upon as a badge of inferiority, and the existence of a class of respectable free laborers becomes impossible. This was from an early time the case in the South. There were other evils attendant on the system. It bred up a set of men whom a Virginia writer describes as "beings called overseers—a most abject, unprincipled race." The young planter grew up surrounded by slaves, and learned from his very cradle to be arbitrary and self-willed, indifferent to the feelings of others, and accustomed to deal with those who knew no law but his word. In the North the evils of slavery were less felt, but nevertheless they existed. In 1763 the proportion of negroes to the whole population of New England was only one in fifty. But there, just as in the South, they were treated as an inferior race, and debarred from equal rights. In Massachusetts a negro who struck a white man was liable to be sold as a slave out of the colony. Marriages between white persons and negroes were unlawful, and the clergyman who performed the service was liable to a fine of fifty pounds. No negro might be in the streets of Boston after nine at night. In New York, in 1712, an alarm was raised, apparently without foundation, of a negro plot to burn the city. The supposed conspirators were apprehended, and nineteen of them put to death.

Throughout all the colonies there was abundant prosperity, but little luxury; enough of the necessities, but few of the superfluities, of life. Owing to the abundance of unoccupied country and the consequent cheapness of land, there were scarcely any tenant farmers, and, except the Southern slaveholders, scarcely any large landed proprietors. The plainness of

life is well illustrated in letters written from England by Benjamin Franklin to his wife. He tells her that he is sending home table-linen, carpets, and other such articles, as being far superior to any that could be got in America, and he dwells on the ordinary furniture of an English breakfast-table as something remarkably luxurious. Indeed, it would seem from his letters that table-cloths were not generally used in America at breakfast. This roughness and plainness was mainly due to the cheapness of land. Where every man could become a farmer, few cared to work as artisans. Moreover, in a young country, all the labor that can be got is needed for bringing the land into cultivation, building houses, making roads, and the like, and little is left for things not absolutely needful. Another result of the cheapness of land was that men were not withheld from early marriages by fear of want, and thus the population increased far more rapidly than it does in old countries.

In one point the Northern colonies from the very first were in advance, not only of the Southern, but of most countries. This was the attention paid to education. In all the New England colonies, provision was made for the maintenance of government schools. In all forms of intellectual and literary activity the Northern States, and especially Massachusetts, took the lead. In 1638 a college was founded at Cambridge in Massachusetts, partly by public funds, partly by private liberality. This was called Harvard College, after its chief benefactor, John Harvard. In Virginia, as we have seen, a college was founded about 1690. Yale College, in Connecticut, came into being in 1701, and by 1762 there were six colleges, all, except that in Virginia, in the northern colonies. Yet, in spite of the spread of education, there were in 1720 no booksellers' shops south of Boston, but only stationers' shops, where common school-books could be bought. At Charlestown, however, where there was the most educated and polished society to be found in the South, a public library was started in 1700. By the middle of the century these institutions had sprung up throughout the colonies, and became important as means of spreading knowledge. The first American newspaper was the *Boston News Letter*, started in 1704. Another Boston paper appeared in 1719, and one at Philadelphia at the same time. As is usual in a new country where nearly every one is pressing on to make a livelihood by farming or trade, and where there is little leisure for reading, the colonies had not, before they became independent, produced many writers of note. In the seventeenth century there were in New England a great number of writers on divinity, many of whom played important parts on the Independent side in the great controversy between that sect and the Presbyterians. Few of their works have any lasting interest or value. Besides these a few books were written on the history of the various colonies. By far the best of these books is Stith's History of Virginia, published in 1747. The

author was a Virginia clergyman, and had access to the private records of the Virginia Company. His book is clear and accurate, and for style it may take rank with the best English writers of that day. Unluckily it does not come down further than the dissolution of the Company. Hubbard's History of the Indian Wars is a minute record of the war with King Philip, marred to some extent by violent prejudice against the natives. Of all American writers during the period through which we have gone, the greatest was Jonathan Edwards. He was born in 1703, and died in 1758. He was the son of an Independent minister in Connecticut; he was brought up at Yale College, became himself a minister, and shortly before his death was appointed president of the college in New Jersey. He wrote on divinity and metaphysics, and is a sort of link between the Puritans of the seventeenth century and the great European philosophers of the eighteenth.

The subject, perhaps, in which Americans most distinguished themselves was natural science. Benjamin Franklin, whom we have already seen and shall see again as a statesman, gained by his discoveries in electricity a place scarcely surpassed by any of the natural philosophers of his age. Indeed it was justly said of him that his exploits either as a statesman or as a philosopher, taken by themselves, would have won him an undying reputation. Godfrey and Rittenhouse were mathematicians of some eminence; and Bartram, a self-taught Pennsylvanian, was described by the famous naturalist, Linnæus, as the greatest natural botanist in the world. James Logan, another Pennsylvanian, wrote books of some merit on natural science and other matters, and at his death in 1751 left a library of four thousand volumes to the city of Philadelphia. In lighter branches of literature, poetry, fiction, and the like, America as yet produced no writers of any repute. This was, perhaps, because in New England and Pennsylvania, where there was most education and culture, enough of the old Puritan and Quaker temper was left to make men look with some disfavor on such works. Thus, when in 1750 an attempt was made to establish a theatre at Boston, it was forbidden by the Assembly as "likely to encourage immorality, impiety, and contempt for religion." The same causes checked the growth of art. Nevertheless, about the middle of the eighteenth century, there were three American painters of some note—West, Copley, and Stuart. The two former went to England. West gained considerable fame by large historical pictures. His works are for the most part disfigured by the coldness and formality which was common in the last century. Copley obtained some repute as a painter of historical pictures and portraits. His greatest work is a picture of Lord Chatham swooning in the House of Lords, after his last speech there. Copley is perhaps better known as the father of Lord Lyndhurst, the English Lord Chancellor. Stuart remained in America, and painted the portraits of some of

the leading American statesmen. His works have considerable merit, and some critics even go so far as to consider him superior in certain points to any of the portrait painters of his age, save Sir Joshua Reynolds.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE STAMP ACT AND THE TEA TAX.

HOW far the English government could lawfully tax the colonies, was, as we have seen, a point on which there had been various disputes, and about which no fixed rule had been laid down. English judges had decided that the colonies might lawfully be taxed by Parliament. But the colonists had never formally acknowledged this claim, and Parliament had never attempted to exercise the right except for the protection of English trade and manufactures. During the reigns of George I. and George II., various proposals had been made for a general system of taxation in all the colonies. Sir William Keith, governor of Pennsylvania, proposed such a scheme to Sir Robert Walpole. The Prime Minister replied: "I have Old England set against me, and do you think I will have New England likewise?" In 1754, Lord Halifax, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, proposed that a general system of taxation should be put in force, arranged by commissioners from the various colonies. Several of the colonial governors took up the idea, and it seemed likely to be adopted. The Massachusetts Assembly gave its agent in England instructions "to oppose everything that should have the remotest tendency to raise a revenue in the plantations." Other events happened about the same time to breed ill blood between the colonists and the mother country. In 1761 the custom-house officers at Boston demanded search-warrants to assist them in searching for some smuggled goods. The legality of these warrants, called writs of assistance, was then tried before the Supreme Court of Massachusetts. The verdict was in their favor, but public feeling was strongly excited against the government, and James Otis, the lawyer who opposed the custom-house officers, gained great popularity. In the same year a dispute arose in New York. Hitherto the Chief Justice

JAMES OTIS.

had been liable to be dismissed by the Assembly. This right of dismissal was now transferred to the Crown. The Assembly tried to meet this by withholding the judge's salary, but the English government defeated them by granting it out of the quit-rents paid for the public lands. In 1762 a third dispute sprang up. A ship was sent to guard the fisheries to the north of New England against the French. The Massachusetts Assembly was ordered to pay the cost. They protested against this, and Otis drew up a remonstrance declaring that it would take from the Assembly "their most darling privilege, the right of originating all taxes," and would "annihilate one branch of the legislature."

All these things had been begetting an unfriendly feeling in the colonists towards the mother country. But soon after Parliament adopted measures which excited deeper and more wide-spread discontent. The two most influential ministers in the English government were George Grenville and Charles Townshend. Grenville was painstaking, honest, and well-meaning, but self-confident, obstinate, and ill-informed about America. Townshend was a brilliant speaker, but rash and headstrong, utterly without forethought or caution, and carried away by the love of new and startling measures. He was at the head of the Board of Trade, which then had a large share in the management of the colonies. In March, 1763, Townshend brought forward a complete scheme for remodelling the colonial governments. He proposed to make all the public officers in America dependent on the Crown, to establish a standing army there, and strictly to enforce the navigation laws. The last was the only part of the scheme which was actually put in force. Before the other measures could be carried out, Townshend had left the Board of Trade. His successor, Lord Shelburne, refused to meddle with the taxation of the colonies. But in 1764 he was succeeded by Lord Hillsborough, a man of no great ability or importance. Thus the control of the colonies was practically handed over to Grenville. The only part of Townshend's scheme of which he approved was the enforcement of the navigation laws, and he brought in a bill for this purpose, which was carried. He also resolved to introduce a bill requiring that all legal documents should bear stamps varying in price from six cents to fifty dollars. This measure, known as the Stamp Act, has always been looked on as the beginning of the troubles which led to the War of Independence. Grenville gave notice of this bill a year before he actually introduced it. Several of the colonies at once petitioned and passed resolutions against it. The Virginia Assembly appealed to the king, the Lords, and the Commons, declaring that the taxation of the colonies by Parliament was unconstitutional. New York did likewise. Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and North Carolina appointed committees to correspond with the neighboring colonies about means of resistance. When the bill was

brought before Parliament in 1765, six colonies protested against it. Nevertheless, only a few members of Parliament raised their voices against the measure. The most conspicuous of these were Barré and Conway, both Irishmen, and officers in the army.

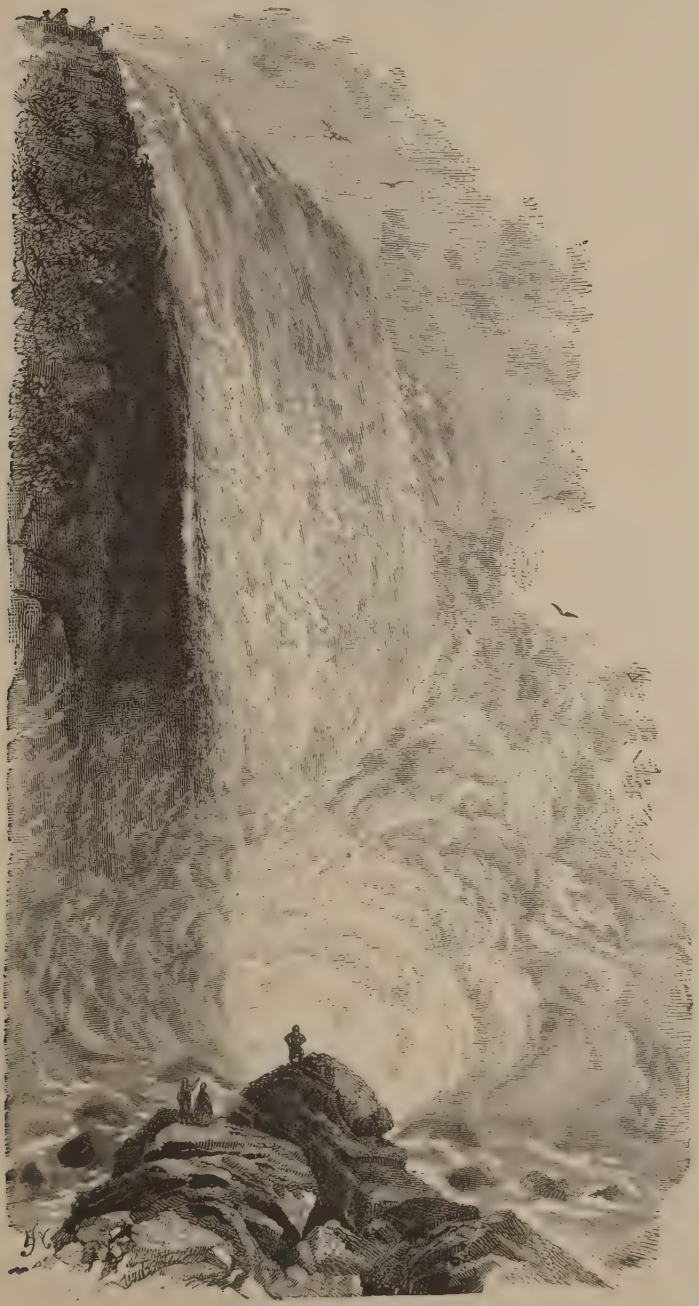
The arrival of the news in America was at once the signal for an outburst of indignation. The supporters of the measure were burnt in effigy. Hutchinson, the lieutenant-governor of Massachusetts, was especially odious to the people, as the Act was believed to be in a great measure due to his advice. This provoked the colonists the more, as he was a Boston man by birth. His house was attacked by night and pillaged, and he and his family had to flee for their lives. This outrage was resented by the better class of Bostonians, and the Assembly offered a reward of three hundred pounds for the capture of any of the ringleaders. At the same time the Bostonians showed their gratitude to Conway and Barré by placing pictures of them in their town-hall. The first colony which publicly, and through its government, expressed its formal disapproval of the Stamp Act, was Virginia. Among the members of the Virginia Assembly was a young lawyer named Patrick Henry. He had already made himself conspicuous in a lawsuit which had taken place in Virginia. The stipend of the clergy there was paid, not in money, but in tobacco. In 1758 there was a scanty crop of tobacco, and the price of it rose. The Assembly thereupon passed an Act that the stipend of the clergy should be paid in money, at a certain fixed rate, proportioned to the usual value of tobacco, but below its price at that time. The king, persuaded, it is said, by the bishop of London, refused to confirm this Act. The clergy then sued some persons who had paid them in money for the difference between that and the present value of the tobacco to which they were entitled. Henry, who was engaged as counsel against the clergy, boldly declared that the king's sanction was unnecessary to the validity of a law. He lost his cause, but won a great reputation as the champion of the popular party. This, coupled with his eloquence, in which he stood foremost among the American statesmen of his day, marked him out as the leader of the opposition to the Stamp Act. In May, 1765, Henry proposed in the Virginia Assembly a series of five resolutions declaring that the colonies could not be taxed without their own consent. The Assembly, after a severe contest, passed them, and, in the words of Bernard, the governor of Massachusetts, "rang the alarm-bell to the rest of America." A fortnight after, the Massachusetts Assembly took the bold step of proposing to call a congress of deputies from all the colonies, to arrange means of resistance. The project was at first coldly received, and seemed likely to fall to the ground, till South Carolina took it up. In October, deputies from nine colonies, chosen by their representative assemblies, met at New York. Virginia, New Hampshire, North Carolina, and Georgia were prevented from

sending deputies, but expressed their sympathy. The Congress drew up addresses to the king, the lords, and the commons. In these they expressed their loyalty to the king and their affection to England, but declared that it was unlawful to tax the colonies without their own consent. Soon after, the Assembly of Massachusetts passed a series of resolutions setting forth the same principles. The people generally devised various means for evading the Stamp Act. In some places they used bark instead of paper; in others they compelled the distributors of stamps to resign. Elsewhere they persisted so obstinately in the use of unstamped paper, that the colonial governors had to yield. Everything was done to make the colonies independent of English trade. A society of arts, manufactures, and commerce was formed to encourage native industry, and, to increase the supply of wool, no lambs were killed. From the outset of the contest, those in America who opposed the mother country were divided into two parties. There were some who held that the colonists ought not merely to resist the Stamp Act, but to deny the right of the English Parliament to tax them, or to make laws for them. There were others who objected to the Stamp Act, on the ground that it was oppressive and ill-timed, but who did not wish to raise any wider question as to the general rights of England over the colonies. This formed an important difference of opinion, which, as the contest went on, grew wider and produced important results.

The petition, and the expression of public opinion in America, was not without effect in England. In the autumn of 1765 Grenville went out of office. The king wished Pitt to form a ministry, and he would have done so, if his brother-in-law, Lord Temple, would have joined him. Pitt was the one leading statesman of that age who thoroughly understood the American colonies, who knew the value of their friendship, and the danger of their enmity. But unhappily, Temple would not support him, and he was unable to form a ministry. Still, the change of government was a gain to the cause of the colonies. Lord Rockingham was the new Prime Minister. He was a moderate and sensible man, conciliatory in his views towards the colonies, but unhappily without the courage needful to carry out an unpopular policy. The real strength of his ministry lay in Conway and Edmund Burke. The former was among the few who had opposed the Stamp Act. The latter was as yet untried as a practical statesman, but he was specially fitted to deal with the question of colonial taxation. He was an Irishman, and so had a peculiar sympathy with a dependent nation. An account of the European colonies in America, the best work of the kind then in existence, was generally, and it would seem justly, believed to have been written by him. Few men had more knowledge of the history and institutions of his country, or could judge better how far the claims of the Americans were well-founded. Pitt too, though he would not join the ministry, gave it his support, as he

described himself, "single, unsolicited, and unconnected." In one of his most eloquent speeches, he warned Parliament that in carrying out the taxation of the colonies, they would overthrow the principles on which the freedom of their own country rested. "America," he said, "if she fell, would fall like the strong man; she would embrace the pillar of the state, and pull down the constitution along with her." The ministry found help in another quarter. Benjamin Franklin was then in England, on business as the agent of Pennsylvania. He was examined before the House of Commons as to the probable effect of the Stamp Act. He stated forcibly the objections to taxing the colonies. He pointed out that England would be, in the long run, the loser, as the Americans would in revenge manufacture articles for themselves, instead of depending, as they always had done, on those sent out from England. In February, Conway moved the repeal of the Stamp Act, and it was carried by a majority of more than a hundred. The ministry marred the concession by bringing in a bill declaring that Parliament had a right to tax the colonies. This was opposed by Pitt in the Commons, and by Lord Camden in the Lords; nevertheless it passed both Houses. The colonists were for the time too much delighted at the repeal of the Stamp Act to trouble themselves much about a measure which carried with it no immediate mischief. They received the news with great public rejoicings. Special honors were paid in various colonies to the king, Pitt, Conway, and Barré. But though the difficulty had been surmounted for the time, much mischief had been done. Violent language had been used on each side. Even the opponents of the Stamp Act in England regretted much what was said by the colonists, and complained that temperate remonstrances could find nei ther a publisher nor a reader in America. In England, on the other hand, few took the trouble to acquaint themselves with the true state of the colonies, and thus the nation was, to a great extent, acting in the dark. One London newspaper, if we may believe Franklin, tried to frighten its readers about the increasing resources of the Americans, by telling them of a project for establishing whale-fisheries in the upper Canadian lakes. Franklin, in ridicule of this, told his English readers that there could not be a finer sight than the whales leaping up the Falls of Niagara.

In the following August, Rockingham went out of office. He was succeeded by Pitt, now raised to the peerage as Earl of Chatham. He was at the head of an ill-assorted ministry, made up of men of different parties and conflicting views. Townshend was his Chancellor of the Exchequer. Failing health drove Chatham into retirement, and Townshend was left to carry out his own policy unchecked. He had been, as much as Grenville, the author of the Stamp Act, and he now proceeded to carry out the same policy. He brought forward and carried through a Bill imposing duties on various commodities imported to America. The revenue thus raised was to



FALLS OF NIAGARA.

be placed at the king's disposal, and the civil officers in America were to be paid out of it. This, as we have seen, was a scheme which the colonists had always stoutly resisted. At the same time an Act was passed to punish the Assembly of New York for its disobedience to the English government. It had refused to supply the king's troops with necessaries. Accordingly, Parliament enacted that the governor of New York should not give his assent to any measure passed by the Assembly till it had obeyed the law on this point. This Act had not the intended effect, as the New York Assembly remained firm.

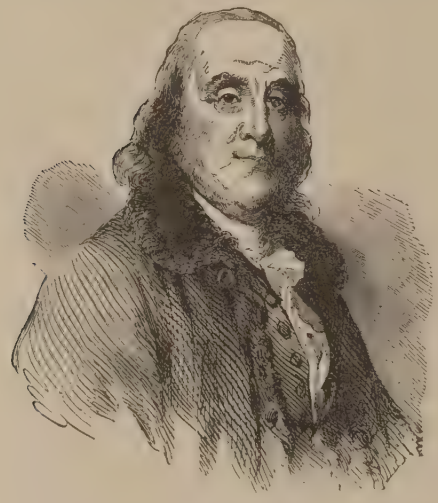
When the news of these Acts came out to America, the spirit of resistance was kindled afresh. Massachusetts again was one of the first colonies to act. The Assembly drew up a remonstrance, and sent it to the ministry. It rested mainly on the ground that the colonies could not be taxed without their own consent. The Assembly then sent letters to all the other colonies, telling them what it had done. Before long Massachusetts found itself in open opposition to the English government. The anniversary of the repeal of the Stamp Act was kept at Boston as a public holiday. Some disorder, not apparently serious, followed; and Governor Bernard made this the ground for demanding troops from England. Accordingly a regiment was sent out to be quartered in the town, and a frigate and four small vessels were ordered to lie in the harbor. About the same time the custom-house officers seized a sloop called the *Liberty*, belonging to one of the leading citizens of Boston, on the charge of smuggling, and called on the crew of a man-of-war to help them. The Bostonians resisted, and the Commissioners of Customs had to take refuge in the castle. During the excitement and ill-feeling which followed these proceedings, letters were sent out from Lord Hillsborough, the Secretary of State, bidding Bernard to dissolve the Assembly, unless it would withdraw its circular letters to the other colonies. This it refused to do, by a majority of ninety-two votes to seventeen, whereupon Bernard dissolved it. Although not allowed to sit as an Assembly, the members came together as a convention without any legal power, and requested the governor to call an Assembly. He refused, and ordered them to disperse. Instead of obeying him they drew up a fresh petition to the king, remonstrating against being taxed by Parliament, and against the civil officers being made independent of the Assembly. The Council in the meantime had been also opposing the governor. Two regiments were to be sent to Boston from Halifax, and Bernard gave orders that the Council should provide quarters for them in the town. The Council declared that it was not intended by the Act of Parliament that the troops should be quartered in private houses while there was room in barracks. After a dispute, Bernard and General Gage, who was in command of the troops, gave way. The citizens of Boston also

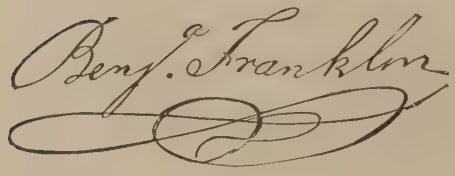
agreed to abstain, as far as possible, from the use of imported articles, by way of striking a blow at English commerce. In this they were followed by the southern colonies. In all these proceedings, except, perhaps, the affair of the *Liberty*, the people of Boston seem to have acted with judgment and moderation. Another of their proceedings was less justifiable. Otis and others collected four hundred muskets, which they stowed in the town-hall, giving notice that they would be served out to the citizens if they were needed.

The English government now seemed inclined towards a moderate policy. The ministry with one accord proposed the repeal of all the duties except that on tea; on that they were divided. Just as Rockingham's ministry, when it repealed the Stamp Act, still expressly reserved the right of taxing the colonies, so now the ministry retained the tea tax, not for its own sake, but lest, by repealing it, they should seem to give up their claim altogether. Thus the intended concession failed to conciliate the colonists. When the repeal of the duties was announced at Boston, the merchants of the town held a meeting, and resolved that the concession was insufficient. Boston soon became the scene of fresh and worse disturbances. The departure of Governor Bernard was celebrated by public rejoicings, by bonfires, ringing of bells, and firing of cannon. An unfriendly feeling between the soldiers and the Bostonians soon showed itself in various ways. Early in 1770 disturbances broke out, and the soldiers and citizens came to blows. On the 5th of March a number of soldiers were surrounded by a mob, who hooted and pelted them. It is said that the soldiers had already provoked the mob by rushing through the streets, laying about them with sticks and cutlasses. At length the troops were provoked into firing upon the people, of whom they killed three and wounded eight, two mortally. Next morning a town-meeting was held, and delegates were sent to Hutchinson, the lieutenant-governor, who after Bernard's departure was at the head of affairs, to demand the withdrawal of all the troops. He ordered one of the two regiments, that specially concerned in the disturbance, to withdraw to the castle; but he kept the other in the town. The townsmen, however, insisted on the withdrawal of all the troops, and Hutchinson at length yielded. It is not easy to say how far the blame of this event—the Boston massacre, as it was called—lay with the mob, and how far with the soldiers. It is impossible altogether to acquit either. But it must be said in justice that the better class of the townspeople showed no wish to deal harshly with the case. When Captain Preston, the officer in command, and eight of his men, were brought to trial, John Adams and Josiah Quincey, two young barristers of considerable repute, both of whom sympathized strongly with the popular side, undertook the defence. It seemed quite doubtful whether Preston had really given the order to fire, and how far

the soldiers had acted in self-defence. Accordingly Preston and six of the soldiers were acquitted; the other two were convicted of manslaughter.

Other events at Boston followed on the massacre, which kept up the ill-feeling between the townspeople and the authorities. The king sent out orders to exempt the Commissioners of Customs from taxation. The Assembly contended that the king had no right to meddle with the question of taxation, or to remit, any more than to impose, taxes. Soon after this it was announced that all the law officers were to receive salaries from the Crown, and to be independent of the Assembly. The citizens thereupon, at a public meeting, appointed a committee to draw up a statement of their grievances, and to publish it in the various colonies. In the latter part of 1773 Franklin sent out from England a number of letters written by Hutchinson to various public men in England, proposing measures against the liberties of the colonies. These letters called forth great indignation, and the Assembly, on the strength of them, petitioned for Hutchinson's removal.

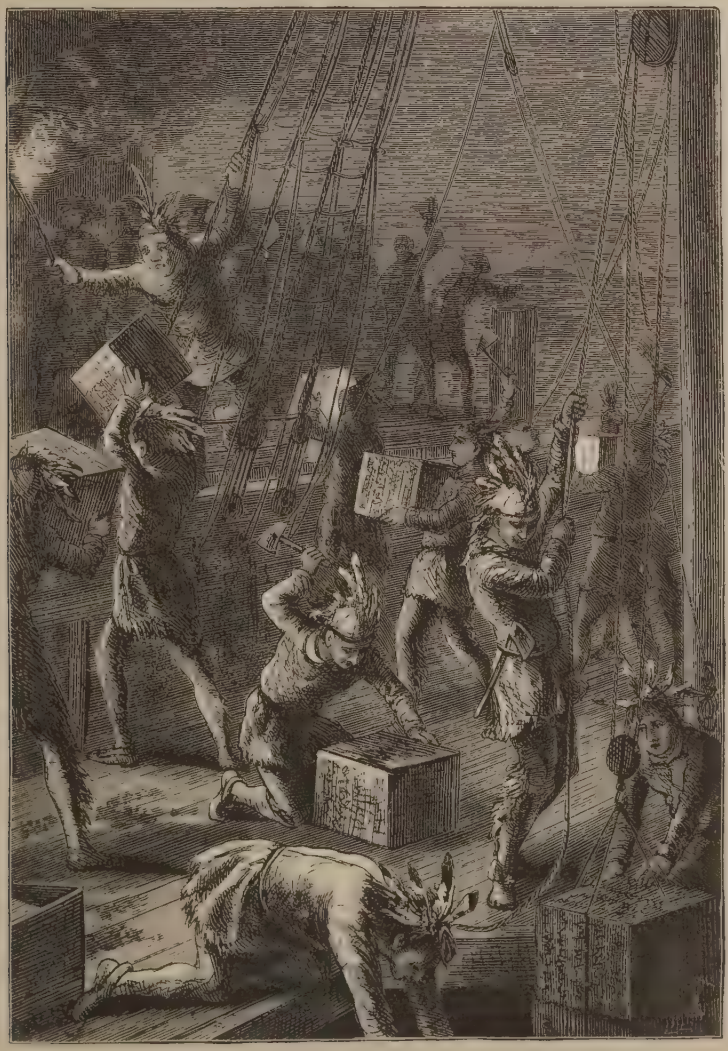




On one point the colonists seemed inclined to give way. They had entered into an agreement to injure English commerce by importing no goods from England. The wisdom of this policy seems doubtful. It forced the Americans to manufacture many articles which they might have imported more easily and cheaply; and, when the war actually broke out, they were worse supplied than they need have been. In any case the agreement could have no effect, unless it were observed by all the colonies alike. For a while the colonists remained firm, but gradually they gave way. The only commodity which was altogether excluded was tea. In December another disturbance took place at Boston. Three ships containing tea arrived in the harbor. As this was the one commodity still taxed, those who were opposed to government were specially anxious that none should be landed. Accordingly a number of them, disguised as Indians, seized the ships, and emptied the cargo—three hundred and forty chests of tea—into the harbor.

Next year the English government took steps to punish the Bostonians

for their various misdeeds. The port was to be closed so as to cut off supplies; the Assembly was suspended; public officers or soldiers accused of



THE DESTRUCTION OF TEA IN BOSTON HARBOR.

any offence were to be sent to England or Nova Scotia for trial, and all troops were to be quartered on the town of Boston. At the same time General Gage, the commander of the troops, was appointed governor. One

wise measure was adopted by the ministry. The French Canadians, most of whom were Roman Catholics, were granted full freedom of worship. They were also allowed to take an oath of fidelity to the king, instead of the oath of supremacy, and to hold their property under their own laws. This wise and moderate policy was rewarded by the loyalty of the Canadians. The Acts against Boston were opposed by Burke and others, but in vain. In June, 1774, the last Assembly under the royal government was held in Massachusetts. It passed resolutions recommending a congress of the different colonies, appointed five deputies, and voted them five hundred pounds for their expenses. The Assembly also passed resolutions declaring its disapproval of the arbitrary conduct of the governor, and recommending the inhabitants to leave off using imported articles, and to encourage home manufactures. Thereupon the governor dissolved them. The other colonies showed every disposition to support Massachusetts. The Assembly of Virginia set apart the 1st of June for a public fast, as on that day the Port Act came into force. For this they were dissolved by the governor, but nevertheless most of the other colonies followed their example. Virginia and Maryland both resolved to export no tobacco to England; and South Carolina and Virginia gave rice and corn for the relief of Boston. In Massachusetts the spirit of disaffection increased. In some of the towns the people were ready to take up arms. In two of them, mobs took possession of the law courts, and would not suffer proceedings to go forward. When Gage took possession of the public store of powder, and moved it to the castle, the whole neighborhood rose up; and in a day twenty thousand people were gathered together. They dispersed, however, without doing anything.

In September the Congress met at Philadelphia. The Massachusetts deputies were received on their way with public honors. The Congress passed various resolutions expressing its sympathy with Boston, and denying the right of Parliament to tax the colonies. It also drew up an agreement pledging the colonies to have no commercial dealings with England. At the same time it sent a petition to the king and a memorial to the people of Great Britain, resembling the other documents of the kind which had been issued before. The Congress also published an address to the people of Quebec, representing that the Act of Parliament made them dependent for their freedom on the pleasure of England, and exhorting them to make common cause with the other colonists.

In November, 1774, a new Parliament met. The proceedings in its first session, with reference to America, were the most important that had yet taken place. Lord North, who was now at the head of the Ministry, being only a peer's eldest son, sat in the House of Commons. He was little more than the mouthpiece of the king, who was bitterly hostile to the colonies.

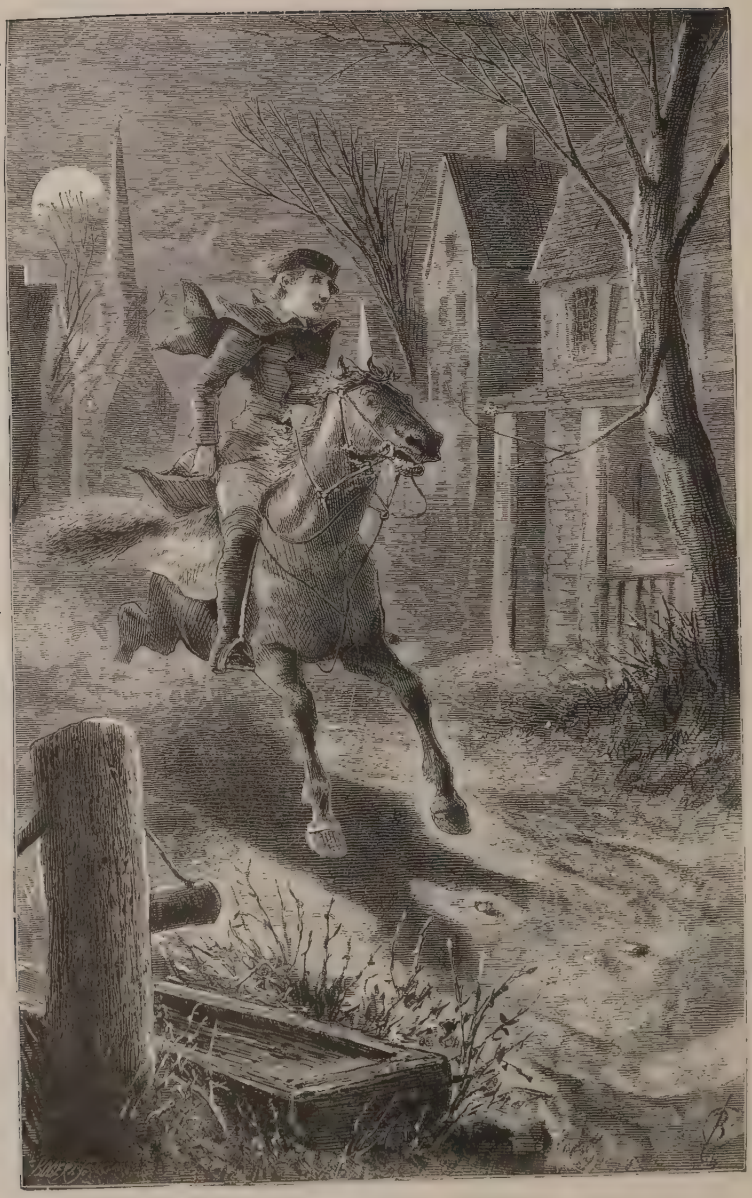
Throughout the whole session a small minority, containing some of the ablest men and best debaters in both Houses, fought against the American policy of the government. The contest began when the Address to the King was moved in the House of Commons. An amendment was proposed, requesting that the king should lay all the facts about America before Parliament. In the ensuing debate, the ministry was severely blamed for its American policy, but the amendment was defeated by a majority of more than two hundred. In the House of Lords a like debate was followed by a like result. On the 3d of February, Lord North announced his American policy; the English forces in America were to be increased, the colonists were to be cut off from the American fisheries, and the colonies were to be punished with a different amount of severity, according to their various degrees of guilt. Those measures were brought forward separately, and, though each of them successively was opposed, all were carried. At the same time, Lord North introduced a measure intended to conciliate the colonies, and to meet the difficulty about taxation. He proposed that the colonial assemblies should be allowed to vote a certain sum, and that, if the English government thought it enough, the colonists should be left to raise the money in what way they pleased. This was a concession, but only a slight one, not likely to have much effect on the colonists in their present state of anger. During the same session, Chatham and Burke each brought forward schemes for conciliation. Chatham proposed that a congress from all the colonies should meet, and should make a free grant of a perpetual revenue to the king, to be spent, not on the payment of civil officers in America, but in reducing the national debt; that the recent Acts against America should be suspended without being formally repealed, and that all the privileges granted by the colonial charters and constitution should be confirmed. This scheme seemed to meet the chief demands of the colonists, and at the same time to save the ministry from an open confession of defeat. In spite of this, and of the high position and past services of Chatham, the House of Lords not only threw out the measure, but would not even suffer a copy of the scheme to lie on the table of the House for consideration. Not long after, Burke brought forward a motion in the House of Commons, proposing to repeal the Acts against America, and to leave the taxation of the colonies to their own Assemblies. He spoke strongly of the loyalty of the colonists, and showed that, in claiming the right of taxing themselves, they were only holding fast to principles which Englishmen had always asserted. Nevertheless, his motion was defeated by a large majority. On the 10th of April a petition was presented to the king from the city of London, representing the injury to trade and to the welfare of the kingdom which was likely to follow from the present policy towards America. The king, in answer, only expressed his surprise that any of his subjects should encourage the rebel-

lious temper of the Americans. During the whole period which we have gone through in this chapter, ministers and Parliament were misled chiefly by their ignorance of the wants and feelings of the colonists. This was mainly due to their being dependent for information on colonial governors and other men of indifferent character and prejudiced against the Americans. Moreover, there was on the part of the king and his advisers a firm determination to hear no appeal from the colonists, however temperately worded, unless it acknowledged the right of Parliament to tax them. On that one point the colonists were equally firm. At the outset they might perhaps not have quarreled with the mere claim to that right, if it had not been harshly and unwisely exercised. But as the struggle went on, they became hardened in their resistance, and claimed freedom, not merely from a particular tax, but from taxation generally.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

IN the spring of 1775, the state of things at Boston became more threatening. There was no longer an Assembly, but the Convention of the colony was mustering the militia, providing for the safe keeping of the military stores, and making other preparations for active resistance. In February, Gage, hearing that there were some cannon at Salem, sent to seize them. When the soldiers came to a river, their passage was barred by the country people, who took up the drawbridge and scuttled the only boat at hand, while the cannon were carried off. A fight seemed impending, but a clergyman interposed, and persuaded the people to lower the drawbridge. The troops marched over unmolested, but failed to find the cannon. In Boston the ill-feeling between the people and the soldiers showed itself in various ways. In Virginia the colonists were also making ready for action. There, too, a convention was called together. Henry, in an eloquent speech, warned the colonists that all hope of reconciliation was at an end, and that they must choose between war and slavery. They answered to his appeal, and proceeded to put the militia in order for service. Lord Dunmore, the governor, thereupon seized the public supply of powder. He also enraged the settlers by threatening that, if any violence were done, he would free and arm the negro slaves, and burn Williamsburg.



PAUL REVERE'S RIDE.

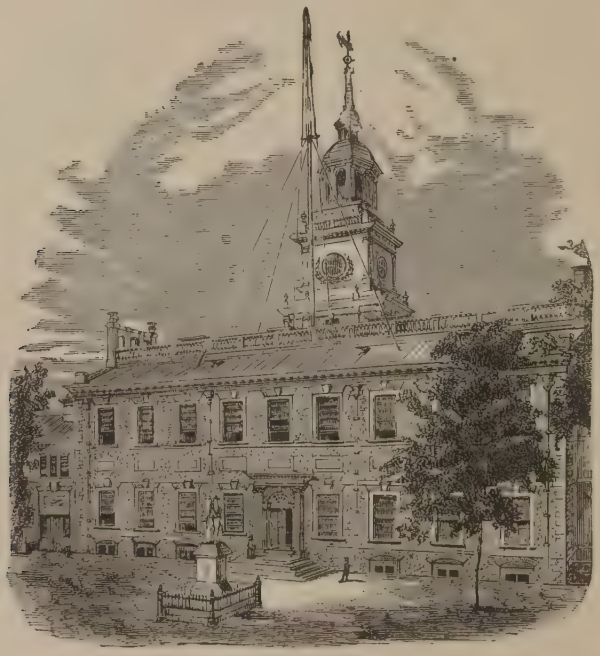
Before going further, it may be well to consider what resources the Americans had for the war on which they were about to enter. Their two chief sources of weakness were want of union among the colonies, and want of military organization and discipline. As we shall see throughout the contest, the shortcomings of the Americans on these points were constantly creating difficulties. Besides, there was a want of concert among the leading men. Some of them had already given up all hopes of reconciliation, and were resolved to aim at once at independence, while others, to the last, clung to the hope of maintaining the union with England. Moreover, the Congress of delegates had no legal powers. It could only pass resolutions; it could not enforce its decisions. As a set-off against these drawbacks, there was much in the life and habits of the people which fitted them for such a war. It was not necessary that the colonists should win pitched battles. It was enough if they could harass the English

The Patriots Seize a Cannon at Salem.

troops, and cut off their supplies. For this sort of work the difference between well-disciplined soldiers and raw militia is less important than it would be in regular warfare. Many of the Americans too had experience in backwoods fighting with the Indians. Moreover the life of settlers in a new country calls out activity and readiness. A settler is not only a farmer, but a hunter, and to some extent a craftsman as well. Moreover, America was not like an old country, where the loss of a few large trading and manufacturing towns cripples the whole nation. There were also several weak points in the position of England. The nation did not go into the war heartily and with one accord. Many of the wisest statesmen and greatest thinkers were utterly opposed to the policy of the Ministry. The merchants, the Dissenters, and the Irish people, for the most part sympathized with the Americans. All these things made the case of the colonists more hopeful than it might have seemed at first sight.

In April, 1775, the long-threatened contest began. Gage heard that the colonists had cannon and other stores at Concord, an inland town about half a day's march from Boston. He accordingly sent a force of eight hundred men to seize them. At Lexington, a town on the road, the troops met a small body of militia drawn up. One of the British officers ordered them

to disperse. They refused, and the regulars fired, killing eight and wounding seven of the militia. The troops then continued their march to Concord. Outside the place they were opposed by a force of about four hundred men. The regulars got possession of the town and attempted to prevent the colonial militia from entering. Both sides then opened fire; after a while the regulars retreated and marched back to Boston. They were harassed on the way by their opponents, who, as the news spread, received constant reinforcements. But for the arrival of a fresh force from Boston, it would

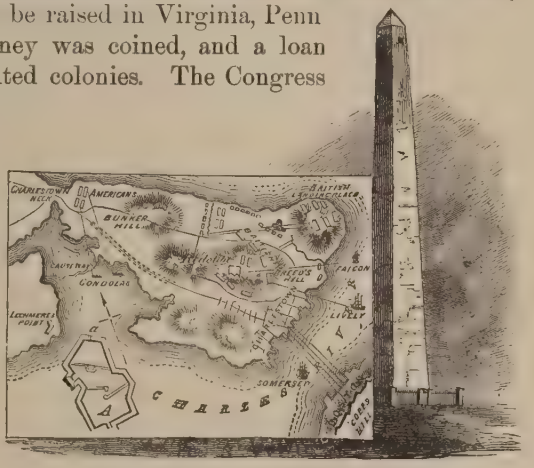


INDEPENDENCE HALL.

probably have gone hard with the regular troops. As it was, they are said to have lost nearly three hundred men before they reached Boston. The Massachusetts Congress at once raised an army. Recruits flocked in from all quarters, and the British troops who were in possession of Boston were blockaded by sea and land. The inhabitants were at length allowed to leave the place on condition that they surrendered their arms. Many of them, it is said, suffered considerable hardships in their departure. Soon after, a force of a hundred and fifty New Englanders, under the command of one Ethan Allen, marched against Ticonderoga, a post of great importance on the Canadian frontier. The garrison was utterly unprepared, and the place was surprised and taken without difficulty. Crown Point, another

strong place, was soon afterwards seized in like manner. There were other petty hostilities, in which the Americans had the best of it.

In May the Congress met at Philadelphia. Twelve of the thirteen colonies sent delegates, chosen by the people in general conventions. Strange as it may seem, even after what had happened, the Americans did not give up all hope of reconciliation. They apparently thought that the policy of the ministry did not represent the feelings of the British people. Accordingly, Congress appointed committees to draw up a petition to the king, and an address to the inhabitants of Great Britain. At the same time it made preparations for defence. It resolved that no bills should be cashed for British officers, and no provisions supplied to British troops or ships. The army already raised by Massachusetts was adopted as the continental army. Companies of riflemen were to be raised in Virginia, Pennsylvania, and Maryland. Money was coined, and a loan raised, in the name of the united colonies. The Congress also advised the different colonies to call out their militia. The most important step of all, was the appointment of a commander-in-chief. Ward, the commander of the Massachusetts forces, was old, and had no military experience and no special capacity of any kind. Washington's ability, his high character, and his past services, pointed him out as the one man fitted above all others for the post. This appointment was proposed by John Adams, a leading man in Massachusetts, and was cordially accepted by the whole Congress. The existence of such a leader at such a time was the greatest good fortune that could have befallen the Americans. Had his ability and integrity been less conspicuous, or had he been open to the least suspicion of ambition or self-seeking, the northern colonies might not have endured the appointment of a southern general. As it was, that appointment served to bind together the two great divisions, and enable each to feel that it bore an equal part in the struggle.



PLAN OF BUNKER HILL.

Before Washington could take command of the forces, the first pitched battle had been fought. On the 15th of June, Gage, who had been strengthened by the arrival of fresh troops, took steps towards occupying Bunker's Hill. This is a piece of high ground commanding Boston, at the end of the

peninsula on which Charlestown stands. The Americans determined to anticipate Gage, and occupied the place with a thousand men. The British troops then marched upon the place to dislodge them. The ascent was steep, and the difficulty was made greater by the heat of the day and the length of the grass. With these advantages, the Americans twice beat back their assailants, but at the third charge their stock of powder ran short, and as they had no bayonets, they were forced to retreat. The British were too much exhausted to press them severely. The loss of the Americans was about two hundred killed, and three hundred wounded. The British lost two hundred and twenty killed, and over eight hundred wounded. Gage wrote home, that the rebels were not so despicable as many had thought them, and that their conquest would be no easy task.

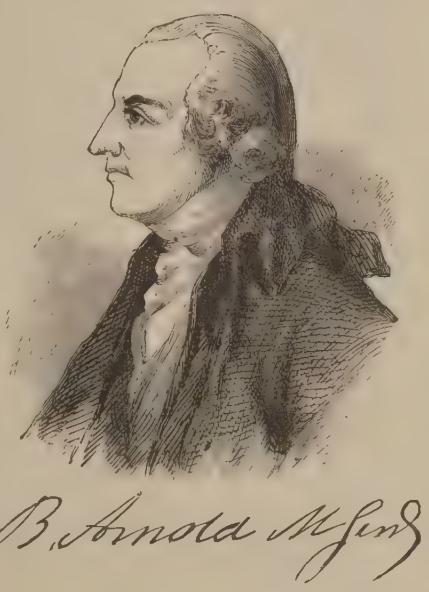
It might have been thought that Congress would now give up all hopes of reconciliation, and would have seen that nothing was left but either resistance or complete submission. This was the view of many of the ablest members of Congress. They held that, until the colonies definitely threw off the yoke of the mother-country, there could be no unity or firmness in their proceedings. But the majority still looked forward to the possibility of reconciliation. The leader of this latter party was Dickinson, of Pennsylvania. He drew up a petition to the king, which was adopted by the Congress, loyal and moderate in its tone. The views of the extreme men on either side were well set forth in two speeches, made by Dickinson and one of his chief opponents, Benjamin Harrison, of Virginia. Dickinson, in speaking of his own address, said, "There is but one word in it that I disapprove of, and that is, Congress." "There is but one word in it that I approve of," said Harrison, "and that is, Congress." The Americans, however, no longer addressed themselves to Parliament. The Congress forwarded an address to the inhabitants of Great Britain, setting forth the hopelessness of the attempts to subdue the colonies, and one to the Lord Mayor and City of London, thanking them for their advocacy.

Congress now ventured on a bolder step than any that it had yet taken. It resolved to send an invading force against Canada. To do this was in a great measure to quit the purely defensive position which it had hitherto held. The Americans, however, believed that Carleton, the governor of Canada, was about to invade their territory, and so considered that, by marching against Canada, they were only anticipating an attack. Three thousand men were sent out commanded by Richard Montgomery. He was an Irishman, who had served with distinction in the late Canadian war. Thinking that he had been insufficiently rewarded, he had retired to a farm in New York, and had married into the family of the Livingstons, important merchants in that colony and conspicuous as opponents of the English government. At first Montgomery's efforts were successful; and St. John's

Continental Soldier.

NORTH.

and Montreal both surrendered. The only check sustained by the Americans was the defeat and capture of Ethan Allen, who had headed an expedition against Montreal, as reckless but not as successful as his earlier attempt against Ticonderoga. Quebec was now threatened by two forces, one under Montgomery, the other under Benedict Arnold, who had started from the mouth of the Kennebec with eleven hundred men. In December their forces united before Quebec, and on the 31st they assaulted the town. The assailants were defeated, with a loss of sixty men killed and nearly four hundred taken prisoners. Among those slain was Montgomery. No braver or more high-minded man fell in the whole war. In Parliament, the friends of America lamented his death and praised his memory; and even Lord North generously admitted that he was brave, able, and humane, and that he had undone his country by his virtues. The Americans continued to blockade Quebec for four months, notwithstanding that small-pox broke out in their camp. From the position of the place it was impossible for the besiegers to keep out supplies and fresh troops from England. When the garrison, strengthened by reinforcements, made a sally, the Americans retreated. Carleton, with great humanity, issued a proclamation, ordering that the sick and wounded, many of whom were scattered in the woods, should be sought out and relieved at the public expense, and, when well, should be suffered to depart home. He also checked the Canadian Indians from making inroads on the New England frontier.



In Virginia, war had broken out between Lord Dunmore and the Assembly. Dunmore seized the powder belonging to the colony, and then, fearing the people, established himself on board a man-of-war. The Assembly would not carry on business unless he would land. He refused, and at length the Assembly dissolved. As in Massachusetts, its place was supplied by a Convention, which proceeded to levy taxes and to put the colony in a state of defence. Dunmore then collected a fleet, and petty hostilities broke out between him and the people. In November he issued a proclamation, declaring martial law, and requiring that all persons fit to bear arms should

join him, on pain of being treated as traitors. At the same time he promised their freedom to all negroes who joined him. By this means he raised a force of several hundred men. On the 9th of December the first serious engagement took place. The colonial troops were intrenched in a position defended by a narrow causeway. Captain Fordyce, with more than a hundred men, attempted to dislodge them. He was met by a heavy fire. Fordyce fell, and his troops, after a brave resistance, were beaten back, having lost about half their number. Dunmore's party took to their ships and were soon joined by two vessels from England. These brought three thousand muskets, with which Dunmore was to arm the negroes and Indians. A flag of truce was sent on shore to the town of Norfolk, to demand provisions, which were refused. Dunmore then resolved to bombard the town. On New Year's Day, 1776, a cannonade was opened. Parties of sailors landed under cover of the ships' guns and set fire to the town, and by the evening, Norfolk, the richest city in Virginia, was a heap of ashes.

During the session of 1775, various attempts were made by the friends of America in both Houses of Parliament to change the policy of the ministry, but in vain. Partly through mismanagement, partly through ill-fortune, the supplies sent out to the British forces had miscarried, and great waste had ensued. The expenses of the war brought with them an increase of taxation. Nevertheless, the ministry and the majority of Parliament held firmly to their previous policy. The King's Speech at the beginning of the session denounced, in strong language, "the desperate conspiracy" in North America. The petition of Congress was presented by Penn, the proprietor of Pennsylvania, but Parliament decided not to consider it. Penn himself was examined before the House of Lords. His evidence went to show that the colonists were both willing and able to hold out, and that they were well supplied with men and arms. The Duke of Richmond in the Upper House, and Burke in the Lower, brought forward proposals for conciliation, but were defeated by large majorities. Lord Mansfield, who supported the ministry, plainly and courageously told the House of Lords that England must either conquer by force or give way altogether. He illustrated his view by the story of a Scotch officer in the Thirty Years' War, who, pointing to the enemy, said to his men, "See you those lads? kill them, or they will kill you." The results of the session showed that the Government would be content with nothing less than the total submission of the colonists. The changes in the ministry about this time made the prospects of America look even darker than before. The Duke of Grafton, an honest and sensible man, who had been at first in favor of the ministerial policy, but was afterwards convinced of its folly, left office. Lord Dartmouth, also a friend to the Americans, was succeeded as Secretary to the Colonies by Lord George Germaine, an able man, but of harsh and violent temper. A still greater

loss to the cause of America was the retirement of Chatham, who was withheld by illness from taking any part in public affairs. Yet he showed what he thought of the ministerial policy, by ordering his son, who was aide-de-camp to General Carleton, to throw up his appointment, rather than serve against the Americans. One proceeding on the part of the English government, which especially enraged the colonists, was the hiring a number of German troops to serve in America.

The position of Washington after he was placed in command was one of great difficulty. His troops were undisciplined; there was great rivalry between the men of different colonies, and the supply of powder was quite insufficient. There was scarcely enough for the infantry, and the artillery was practically rendered useless. The Americans suffered too from the hindrance which always besets an army made up, not of regular soldiers, but of citizens. They were unwilling to stay long away from their homes and business. They would only enlist for short periods, and thus the army was for the most part made up of raw recruits. In numbers, the Americans had the best of it, being about sixteen thousand to twelve thousand of the enemy. But this advantage was in some degree lessened by the fact that the Americans had to guard a wide frontier, while the British had only to hold a single point. The chief superiority which the Americans possessed was their better supply of food and clothing. The British stores had been shipwrecked on their way out, and the famine in the West Indies cut off an important source of help. In spite of all the difficulties which surrounded him, the Americans grumbled at Washington for not striking some decisive blow, and in December, 1775, Congress sent him a resolution, authorizing him "to attack Boston in any manner that he might deem expedient." On the 4th of March he resolved to make an attempt. After nightfall a heavy cannonade began from the American lines, and was kept up on both sides till morning. In the meantime Washington sent a force to occupy Dorchester heights, ground which commanded Boston harbor. The Americans, as might have been expected from an army of countrymen and farmers, were skilful at throwing up earthworks, and by daybreak they were safely intrenched. The British prepared to dislodge them, but were prevented by a storm; and before they could renew the attempt, the earthworks had been so strengthened that an attack was hopeless. It was impossible to hold the town while the Americans were in possession of this point. Accordingly, on the 17th of March the troops embarked, and Washington entered Boston.

In March, hostilities broke out in North Carolina. The assembly accused Martin, the governor, of exciting an insurrection among the negroes, declared him a public enemy, and forbade any one to communicate with him. He thereupon raised the royal standard and collected a force, consisting mainly

of emigrants from the Scotch highlands. An engagement followed, in which the governor's forces were defeated, with the loss of many prisoners and much property, including, it is said, fifteen thousand pounds in gold. This success was of great importance to the colonists. By it North Carolina, which had been looked upon as one of the weakest of the colonies, had shown that it could defend itself.

In the summer of 1776 Congress took the important step of declaring the colonies independent states. The feeling in favor of this measure had been gradually gaining strength. Many thought that the failure of the Canada expedition was partly due to the nation not having thrown itself zealously and heartily into the war, and that they would not do this, until independence had been declared. In October, 1775, New Hampshire, through its delegates, petitioned Congress to be allowed to set up a government of its own framing. Congress, however, did not answer this request at once, hoping that reconciliation might still be possible. But the king's speech in the autumn of 1775, and the rejection of the petition presented by Penn, convinced the Americans that there was no hope of the king or the ministry yielding. Accordingly Congress assented to the proposal of New Hampshire, and at the same time advised South Carolina and Virginia to form independent governments. New Hampshire, while it formed a government for itself, yet declared its allegiance to Great Britain. Virginia showed a more defiant spirit. In January the convention of that colony passed a motion, instructing its delegates to recommend Congress to open the ports of America to all nations.

LIBERTY BELL

Those who supported a thorough-going policy of resistance felt that it would not be enough for the states separately to declare themselves independent. The whole body of colonies must unite for that purpose. As Franklin said, "We must all hang together unless we would all hang separately." In January, 1776, a scheme for confederation, drawn up by Franklin, was laid before Congress, but Dickinson, Franklin's colleague, opposed it strongly, and it was thrown out. Nevertheless, Congress about this time took steps which showed that it no longer acknowledged the authority of Great Britain. A private agent was sent to France, and the people of Canada were advised to set up a government for themselves. After long deliberation, the American ports were thrown open to the world, whereby the English navigation laws were set at nought. Early in June, Lee, of Virginia, proposed that Congress should declare the colonies independent. He was seconded by John Adams. Adams, like Franklin, had clung to the hope of reconciliation as long as there seemed any reasonable prospect of it; but when once he was convinced that it was impossible,

he never wavered or looked behind him. A committee of five, including Adams and Franklin, was appointed to draft a Declaration. The substance was mainly supplied by Adams, but the form of words was due to Thomas Jefferson. He was a young Virginian, already known as a brilliant writer and a strong opponent to the authority of Great Britain. He was extreme in his views, and often hot-headed and intemperate in his expression of them. The Declaration of Independence, as it originally came from his pen, contained many expressions, which were afterwards softened down by his colleagues. On the 1st of July the general question, whether the colonies should be independent, was laid before Congress. Each colony had a single vote, decided by the majority of the delegates from that colony. Nine of

INDEPENDENCE SQUARE.

the thirteen colonies were in favor of independence. On the first day of the discussion Dickinson vigorously opposed the motion, but next day he stayed away, and thus the vote of Pennsylvania was altered. The arrival of another delegate changed the vote of Delaware, and South Carolina, rather than stand alone, withdrew its opposition. New York alone was unable to vote, and on the 2d of July, by the decision of twelve colonies, it was resolved "That these united colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the state of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved." On the 4th of July, the Declaration of Independence was laid before Congress, and was formally

adopted. It set forth the grounds on which the revolt of the colonists was held justifiable; it brought eighteen charges against the king, and alleged that he had shown himself "unfit to be the ruler of a free people." Finally, it declared that the united colonies were free and independent States, that the connection with Great Britain was, and ought to be, at an end; and that the colonies had full power to levy war, make peace, contract alliances, and act in all things as free and independent States.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE.

THE Declaration of Independence left the thirteen colonies, according to their own claim, free and independent States. But it did not give Congress any legal authority over the citizens, or establish any central power over the whole body of States. It was clear that, without some such power, the war could not be carried on with any hope of success. Immediately after the Declaration of Independence, a committee was appointed to draw up Articles of Confederation; these, however, were not agreed on by the Congress till the following year, and they were not adopted by the whole body of States till 1781. During the whole of that time all power lay with the independent State governments. Congress, as before the Declaration of Independence, could only advise, and could not enforce its wishes. There were two main difficulties which Congress encountered in settling a scheme of confederation. The committee who drew up the articles proposed that each colony should contribute to the general treasury in proportion to its population. Most of the delegates from the Southern States contended that the contribution should be proportioned to the free population only. To count the slaves, they said, was as unfair as to count cattle. To this the Northerners answered that, by not counting the slaves, they would give slave labor an immense advantage over free. Free labor, in fact, would be taxed, while slave labor was left untaxed. This, they said, would be at once unfair to the North, and would have the evil effect of fostering slavery. In the end the original proposal was carried by the votes of the seven northernmost States. The dispute is interesting, as being perhaps the first symptom of a long and bitter conflict between the Northern and Southern States, springing out of the question of slavery. Another dispute arose as to the number of votes to be given to

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

each State. The committee proposed that each State should send what number of delegates it pleased, from two to seven, but that, as hitherto, they should only have one vote between them. Others held that the States ought to have votes in proportion to their population. Otherwise, as they pointed out, if the seven smallest States carried a question, it would practically come to this, that a large majority of the nation would be ruled by a small minority. On the other hand, there was a strong feeling that a different arrangement would press hardly on the rights of the smaller States. This view prevailed, and the States retained equal votes. The Articles of Confederation were finally decided on in November, 1777. They declared the thirteen States to be a Confederacy called the United States of America. A citizen of any one State was to have full rights of citizenship in all the others. No State was to form any independent alliance or treaty, or to make war, except in case of invasion. Various causes, as we shall hereafter see, delayed the acceptance of these articles by the different States.

At the same time that the committee was drawing up these articles, the various States were forming their independent governments. All these, with two exceptions, were modeled on the old colonial governments, and consisted of a Governor, a Council, and a House of Representatives. Pennsylvania and Georgia had only a House of Representatives, thinking a Council unnecessary; but this change was found to work badly, and after a while they adopted a like system with the rest. Congress, during the summer of 1776, sent three Commissioners to France, to make secret negotiations for an alliance. Franklin opposed this, saying that "a virgin State should preserve the virgin character, and not go about suitoring for alliances, but wait with decent dignity for the application of others." He was, however, overruled, and he was himself appointed one of the Commissioners.

It must not be thought that the American people had gone into the contest with one accord. There was a party, not indeed numerous, but containing several men of influence, called by the Americans Tories, and by the British Loyalists, who held fast to England. The middle colonies, New York, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey, were the quarter in which this party mustered strongest. The Americans seem to have regarded the Tories with even greater hatred than they did their British enemies, and to have treated them in many cases with great harshness. Even Washington, usually the most just and moderate of men, was betrayed into using harsh language in speaking of their sufferings, although he spoke with great severity of unlawful outrages committed by his own soldiers on the property of alleged Tories; and he never seems to have given any sanction to their ill-treatment. Though the Tories in the early part of the war caused a great deal of uneasiness to the Americans, they seem on the whole to have been of very little service to the British. Indeed, as we shall find throughout the whole

war, the worst enemy with which the British had to deal was, not the armies of the Americans, but the enmity of the common people.

In May, 1776, a British squadron of ten ships under Sir Peter Parker arrived on the coast of South Carolina, and were joined by a land force under General Clinton. The point arrived at was Sullivan's Island, about six miles from Charlestown, and commanding that place. This island was fortified by the Americans. On the 28th of June, the fleet opened a cannonade against the island, and the firing was kept up all day. It was intended that Clinton's forces should wade across an arm of the river and attack the island. The water, however, was too deep to be forded, and this plan was given up. Before night the fleet withdrew with a loss of some two thousand killed and wounded. The Americans stated their own loss at less than one-fifth of that number. The victory was of great importance, as for the present it saved Charlestown, practically the capital of the three southernmost colonies.

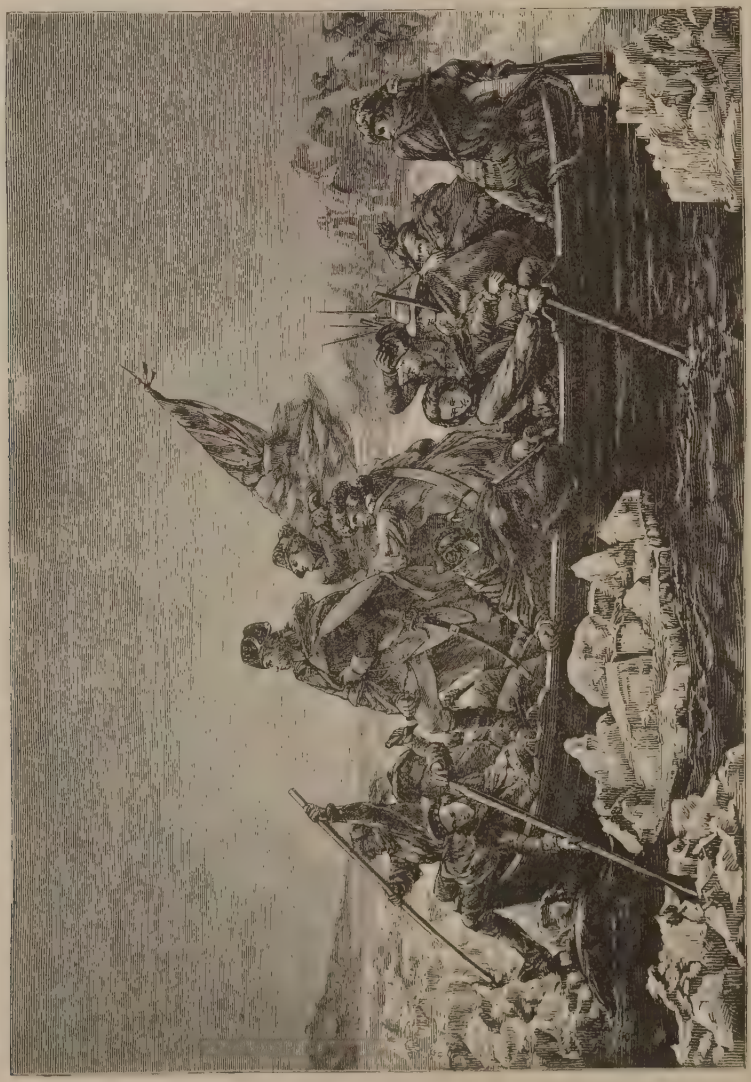
In the summer of 1776 Lord Howe was sent out to take command of the British naval forces. His brother, Sir William Howe, was also serving in America, as commander-in-chief of the land forces. The brothers Howe were intrusted with a document called a commission for the pacification of America, drawn up by the Ministry, and approved of by Parliament. But as this only empowered the Howes to receive submissions and to grant pardons, and as the Americans had no wish to submit and would not allow that they needed pardon, the commission was of no great value. In one way the selection of Lord Howe for this post was a judicious one. His brother had fallen in a former Canadian war against the French, and the colony of Massachusetts had set up a monument to him in Westminster Abbey. Lord Howe himself had made great exertions for the reconciliation of the colonies with the mother country, and the family seem to have been popular among the Americans. Yet it was a measure of doubtful wisdom to make the same men commanders of the forces and commissioners for pacification. Each duty was likely to interfere with the other, and, as a matter of fact, it would seem that Howe's overtures might have been listened to if he had not been at the head of the army, and moreover that he was not anxious, when he had secured a military advantage, to follow it up with the utmost vigor and promptitude.

In August the British force disembarked on Long Island. That island was the key of New York. It was held by the Americans under General Putnam, who was stationed with about eight thousand men at Brooklyn, a strong piece of ground just opposite the city of New York, and separated from it by the East River. Putnam suffered himself to be surrounded, and his troops were defeated with great loss, under the eyes of Washington, who saw the battle from the opposite shore. If Howe had followed up his suc-

cess, it might have been nearly fatal to the American cause. But he hesitated, and Washington succeeded in getting his whole force safely across the East River. For forty-eight hours, it is said, he never slept, and scarcely even dismounted. With such care and good order was the retreat managed, that it was not detected by the enemy till it was complete. The British themselves allowed that the manner in which this was executed did great credit to the military skill of Washington. In another engagement a few days later, in front of New York, the Americans were again defeated. This time, there is little doubt, that many of the Americans behaved with great cowardice. Probably the defeat at Brooklyn had utterly shattered their confidence. After this Washington made no attempt to hold New York, and on the 15th of September the British soldiers entered the town unopposed. Here again it was thought that Howe did not follow up his advantage as he might have done against the retreating Americans. During these operations a conference was held between Lord Howe and three commissioners from Congress. The meeting was a friendly one, and Lord Howe expressed his sincere wish to befriend America, but nothing likely to lead to peace could be arranged.

Washington now adopted an entirely new policy. It was clearly useless to oppose his undisciplined troops to the British. Accordingly he determined to avoid a general engagement, and to content himself with petty skirmishes, in which defeat would not be fatal, while success would give his soldiers experience and confidence. In this policy he was helped by the singular want of energy shown by the British commanders. Though a pitched battle was almost sure to have resulted in their favor, and though one decisive victory might almost have settled the war, yet no attempt was made to bring on a general engagement. Washington was suffered to fall back beyond the Delaware, leaving the whole country between that river and the Hudson in the hands of the British. But though the British had not turned their superiority to full account, yet the cause of America never looked more hopeless than it did at this time. The American troops were no longer, as they were at Boston, in a country whence they could draw ready and plentiful supplies. The three middle States, New York, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey, were, as I have said, throughout the war the least faithful to the American cause. The contrast between Washington's undisciplined, ill-supplied, and retreating troops, and the well-drilled and triumphant British army must have strengthened the feeling in favor of Great Britain. So completely did the invading forces seem to have gained the command of the country, that the Congress fled from Philadelphia in fear of an immediate attack. Washington's army was dwindling from day to day, as many of the men had served their time and would not re-enlist. Lee, one of his best officers, was surprised in his quarters, and taken prisoner

To complete the misfortunes of the Americans, Parker and Clinton, after their discomfiture in Carolina, had proceeded against Rhode Island and occupied it. The tide, however, soon turned. In December, Washington made



WASHINGTON CROSSING THE DELAWARE.

a bold dash across the Delaware, and cut off a whole British detachment at Trenton, taking a thousand prisoners and scarcely losing a single man himself. Encouraged by this, he fell unexpectedly on the rear of Cornwallis's

army and inflicted considerable loss on it. He then threw out scattered detachments, who overran the country, taking one post after another, till at last the British held only two places, Brunswick and Amboy, south of the Hudson. The effect of this campaign was most disastrous to the British. The Tories, who were numerous in New Jersey and Pennsylvania, found themselves left to the mercy of their enemies. Few would join the British standard when it had proved so incapable of protecting them. Moreover, the conduct of the British troops, and still more that of their allies, had not been such as to win the friendship of the inhabitants.

During the spring of 1777 both armies kept quiet. Washington, as before, avoided a pitched battle, while the British contented themselves with destroying some of the American magazines. In some of the skirmishes which ensued, great daring was shown on each side, especially by General Arnold. The Americans obtained one success which gave them special satisfaction. By a bold stroke they seized Prescott, a British general, in his quarters, and carried him off. This capture they considered an equivalent for the loss of General Lee the year before. In June, Howe began his operations against Philadelphia. Prevented from marching straight on that place through New Jersey, he embarked, sailed southwards into the Chesapeake Bay, and proceeded up the Elk river to a spot about seventy miles from Philadelphia. Washington was at first puzzled by Howe's embarkation, and did not know at what part of the coast the British were aiming. Finally he drew up his troops on the Brandywine, a stream some thirty miles from Philadelphia, and there awaited Howe. Through the mistake of one of Washington's subordinates, Lord Cornwallis was allowed to cross the river, and to fall upon the right flank of the Americans before they were ready for an attack. After a sharp engagement, the Americans were defeated with the loss of about one thousand men and many pieces of artillery. No further attempt was made to hold Philadelphia, and on the 26th of September the British entered the city. The Americans, foreseeing that they might lose Philadelphia, had taken various precautions to block the navigation of the river below it, by sinking ships, placing barriers across, and erecting batteries on the banks. These, however, were all removed by the British. Their defeat at Brandywine and the loss of Philadelphia do not seem to have dispirited the Americans as much as might have been expected. The events of the previous year had taught them with what speed a seemingly brilliant success might be reversed,

An Army Forge.

and that it was harder for the British to hold a district than to conquer it. Moreover they had probably seen enough of Howe to know that he would not follow up his victory promptly and vigorously. Washington soon showed that he had not lost confidence either in himself or in his troops. A large portion of the British army was at Germantown, a village six miles from Philadelphia. Washington marched against them and, helped by a fog, took them by surprise. At first the battle seemed likely to be a complete victory for the assailants, but the British rallied, the Americans fell into confusion, which was made worse by the fog, and finally they retreated, leaving the British in possession of the field. The British loss was about five hundred, the American more than double. Nevertheless, the result of the battle seems to have been looked on by the Americans as encouraging. Their troops had attacked the British in superior force, and that for a while with success. Most of their victories before had been surprises, or had consisted in defending themselves behind earthworks or fortifications. Thus the battle of Germantown, though unimportant in itself, was looked on in some measure as a turning-point. The French especially deemed it a proof of greater military prowess than they had yet given the Americans credit for. After this no further operation of any importance took place before the two armies went into winter quarters.

Though the condition of Washington and his army was on the whole more hopeful than it had been in the summer of 1776, yet it was in many respects deplorable. Many of the men were without the ordinary necessaries of life. They had neither shoes, blankets, nor shirts. As Washington said, they literally served in the field, since most of them had no tents to cover them. So badly off were they for supplies, that Washington at one time declared that the army would soon have "to starve, to dissolve, or to disperse in quest of food." The same evil which had beset Washington at the outset still went on—the system, namely, of short enlistments. Till he had an army definitely enlisted for the whole war, Washington felt that he never could achieve any great success. Moreover, the recruiting was hindered by the system which allowed each State to decide for itself the terms on which its men should serve. Some States gave large bounties, others small, and, as might have been expected, the latter got but few recruits, and those discontented. Another grievance, against which Washington protested strongly and repeatedly, was the want of a system of half-pay. Thus the officers could never look upon their profession as affording them a provision for life, and without this few could feel any real and lasting attachment to the service. This and other measures for the improvement and relief of the army, were hindered by the extreme dread which Congress had of the growth of a military despotism. It was especially opposed to the system of half-pay, as tending to establish a privileged class,

Washington Camp at Valley Forge

and to weaken those principles of liberty and equality on which the government rested. Under all these trials, Washington's moderation and patience never failed. He remonstrated with Congress on their inactivity, but always in a dignified and temperate tone. When compelled to levy supplies by force, he did his utmost to make his demands as little exacting and annoying as might be. No failure or disappointment betrayed him into harshness or injustice to his subordinates. No shadow of jealousy ever seems to have crossed his mind. All who deserved praise received it, heartily and generously bestowed, while no man was ever more indifferent to his own just claims to honor.

In the meantime operations of great importance had been going forward in the north. In June, 1777, a force of seven thousand men, under the command of General Burgoyne, set out from Canada for the invasion of the Northern States. Their plan was to march down the valley of the Hudson and so cut off New England from the rest of America. Amongst Burgoyne's troops was a force of Indians, the first that had been used on either side in any of the regular operations of this war. Their want of discipline and their unfitness for regular service made them of little use to the British, while the cruelties of which they were guilty enraged the Americans and greatly embittered the contest. It must be said in justice to Burgoyne that he did his best to restrain his savage allies. Nor had the Americans much right to complain of the employment of the Indians, since it would seem that they themselves were willing enough to enlist them if the British had not been beforehand with them. At first things went well with Burgoyne. Ticonderoga and other strong places on the frontier were taken, partly, it was thought, through the incapacity of their commanders. But before long the difficulties of Burgoyne's situation became manifest. He had to march through a country of forests and swamps, where no supplies could be got, and thus the troops had to carry everything with them. Moreover, the British were not strong enough in numbers to keep up communications with Canada. Gates, who was in command of the American army in the north, was a man of no great ability, but he was ably seconded by Arnold. The first check that Burgoyne received was in August, at Bennington, where two detachments of his troops, sent off to seize an American magazine, were attacked successively by General Starke before they could unite, and both utterly defeated. Encouraged by this and urged by the immediate pressure of invasion, the New Englanders flocked to Gates's standard, and he was soon at the head of a large, well-armed, and active, though undisciplined force. In September and October a number of fierce engagements took place in the neighborhood of Saratoga, in all of which the British suffered heavy loss, though they held their ground. But in their condition an undecided battle was as fatal as a defeat. General Clinton was to have marched from New York and to

have joined Burgoyne. He was hindered in starting by want of supplies. Like Burgoyne, he obtained some success at the outset, but the delay in starting proved fatal. With his troops surrounded, worn out with hardships and long marches, and reduced to the greatest straits for supplies, Burgoyne had no choice but to surrender. Gates granted him liberal terms. The British troops were not to be treated as ordinary prisoners of war, but were to be allowed to return to England on condition of not serving again

SARATOGA.

in America. The officers were to be admitted to parole, and the regiments were to be kept together and to retain their baggage. This surrender, the Convention of Saratoga, as it was called, has been usually looked on as the great turning-point in the War of Independence. Hitherto the result of the war seemed doubtful, inclining perhaps rather in favor of the British. Now it became clear that the success of the Americans was merely a question of time.

The treatment of the Saratoga prisoners, or, as they were called, the Convention troops, was in no wise creditable to the Americans. Instead of being properly quartered, as had been promised, they were crowded together into close barracks, regardless of rank. They were also broken up into several detachments. The straitened circumstances of the Americans were urged in excuse of these breaches of agreement, but it would seem that the difficulty might have been got over. The letters of Jefferson, written at the time, show that he looked on this affair as a blot on the honor of his country. Finally, the troops were not allowed to sail, although the British furnished transports for them, on the ground that no time was fixed for the fulfilment of the treaty, and that there was a difference between refusing and merely delaying their departure. Throughout the whole of the war the

treatment of prisoners generally was a matter of frequent, and seemingly of just, complaint on both sides. The British in some cases claimed the right of treating the Americans, not as prisoners of war, but as rebels, and this led to retaliation.

The most important immediate result of the American success was the conclusion of an alliance with France. As we have seen, one of the first steps taken by Congress was to send three commissioners, Deane, Lee, and Franklin, to France. The choice of Franklin was in many ways a happy one. There was at that time a strong passion for natural science in France, and Franklin's attainments in that study made him popular and admired there. The Americans were less fortunate in his colleague Deane. He caused much trouble by entering into various contracts in the name of Congress without any sufficient authority. For a time the French government confined itself to secretly helping the Americans with money and arms. One form in which the friendship of the French for America showed itself, though well meant, was very inconvenient. Many young and inexperienced Frenchmen volunteered their services to the Americans. Their ignorance of the English language made them utterly useless, while their promotion was a constant source of jealousy and dissatisfaction in the American army. To this there was one notable exception, the Marquis of Lafayette. The Americans had besides the assistance of an able German soldier, Baron Steuben, who was an experienced soldier, and, though ignorant of the English language, did good service in drilling and disciplining the American troops. Lafeyette was a young man of high family. Inflamed with enthusiasm at the sight of a people fighting for their freedom, he crossed to America in spite of the opposition of his friends and kinsfolk. His courage and other noble qualities endeared him to Washington, and he took a prominent part in military operations during the latter years of the war. He did even greater service by enlisting the sympathies of the French court and nation in favor of America. So persistent and so successful was he in this that some one said that it was well that he did not want the furniture of Versailles for his beloved Americans, as the king could never have refused it. During the first two years of the war, the French had not faith enough in the strength and perseverance of the Americans to enter

LAFAYETTE.

into an alliance with them. But with the defeat of Burgoyne and the battle of Germantown this feeling changed, and in February, 1778, a treaty was signed. Each nation promised to help the other in defensive and offensive operations. The war was to be carried on in support of the freedom, sovereignty, and independence of the United States. All conquests in America were to belong to the Americans; all in the West India Islands to France. Neither nation was to conclude a separate peace. The French alliance was, in a military point of view, an undoubted gain to America. Without it, the war might have been prolonged for many years. It gave the Americans the one thing that they needed, a fleet. As long as the British had command of the sea, they could move from point to point, and could attack any part of the coast before the Americans could march to its defence. The alliance, however, had its drawbacks. It drew America into the whirlpool of European politics, in which it had no natural share or interest. Moreover, it greatly strengthened the hostility of the British, and made enemies of many who had hitherto been lukewarm or even friendly.

For more than a year after the Declaration of Independence the affairs of America made little stir in England. The declaration, if it had united America, had united England too, and many who before had been opposed to the ministry now acquiesced in its policy. But in the spring of 1778 Chatham returned to parliament, and his voice was at once raised against the ministry. He was, indeed, strongly opposed to the separation of America from Great Britain; but he was quite as strongly opposed to the means hitherto used for preventing that separation. In one of his most eloquent speeches he denounced the policy of the ministry, who had armed the Indians against men of English blood. When the defeat of Burgoyne was known, the feeling against the ministry became general. Hitherto the opponents of the ministry had denounced the folly and injustice of an attempt to coerce the Americans; now they began to insist on its hopelessness. The ministry itself was in a state of weakness and confusion. Lord George Germaine had resigned his office in consequence of quarrels with Carleton and Howe. Lord North, who was now convinced of the hopelessness of the undertaking, would gladly have yielded to the Americans or have left office, but the king would not hear of either. In February, Lord North so far changed his former policy as to bring in two bills, one pledging the English government never to impose a direct tax on the colonies, the other to send out five commissioners to treat with the Americans, with full power to suspend all Acts passed since 1763. Both bills were carried, and the commissioners went out, but, like Howe two years before, they could do nothing. Three or four years earlier such concessions might have saved the colonies, but the time for them was past. During the course of the session, the feeling of dissatisfaction with the ministry increased. All

The Prayer at Valley Forge

eyes turned to Chatham as the one man who might perchance save the nation. To defeat France and to conciliate America were both tasks for which in earlier days he had shown his fitness. It was not fated that his powers should be tried again. On the 7th of April he was borne fainting from the House of Lords, and in a few weeks later he died. It may well be doubted whether, even if he had lived, and if all things had favored him, he could have contrived at once to conciliate the Americans and to retain their allegiance. Though he asserted strongly the necessity of doing both, yet he does not seem himself to have seen any way in which they could be done. The scheme of conciliation which he proposed in 1775 might then have been successful, but in 1778, even the vigor of his best days could hardly have done more than prolong the struggle.

The operations of these two years were marked with little that was striking on either side. The Americans were weakened by internal jealousies and divisions. A party hostile to Washington had sprung up in the army, headed by one Conway. They attempted to injure Washington by contrasting his indecisive operations with the brilliant success of Gates. Gates, who seems to have been a weak and vain man, at last sanctioned, if he did not encourage, this intrigue. The same spirit of division showed itself in Congress. "For God's sake," Lafayette wrote from France, "prevent the Congress from disputing loudly together; nothing so much hurts the interest and reputation of America." Washington drew an equally lamentable picture of the state of affairs at Philadelphia. Writing thence he says, "Speculation, peculation, and an insatiable thirst for riches, seem to have got the better of every other consideration, and of almost every order of men; party disputes and personal quarrels are the great business of the day." This was partly due to the fact that the various States were so occupied with their own affairs, and with the formation of their own governments, that the best men were serving in State offices, instead of in Congress. The American finances too were in a desperate state. The notes issued by Congress had fallen to less than one-thirtieth of their nominal value; so that, as Washington said, a wagon-load of money could scarcely purchase a wagon-load of provisions. The British generals took no advantage of the demoralized state of their enemies. During the spring of 1778 the British remained inactive at Philadelphia; and in June they abandoned that city, and gathered together their forces at New York, to be ready for an invading

FORAGERS AT WORK.

force from France. In the West, small bands of Tories and Indians wrought great damage, destroying whole villages, and doing much to irritate, though nothing to subdue, the Americans. During the year, the French alliance bore but little fruit. A fleet was sent out under Admiral d'Estaing; but, after staying for some time in Boston harbor, it sailed off to attack the British in the West Indies. A scheme proposed by Lafayette for the invasion of Canada was rejected by Congress. The French themselves did not look favorably upon this scheme; and it is noteworthy that throughout the war they showed no wish that Canada should be taken from the British: this, no doubt, was because the French thought it better for themselves that all Northern America should not be united under a single government.

Clinton, who in the spring of 1778, succeeded Howe in command of the British forces, resolved to attack the Southern States. Hitherto, since the opening year of the war, they had been left unassailed. Clinton thought that they would be therefore less prepared for an attack than the Northern colonies. At the same time, as their resources had not been much impaired, the Americans depended mainly on them for supplies, and thus Clinton hoped that a blow there would be specially felt. At first, results seemed to make good Clinton's hopes. In November, 1778, a small force under Colonel Campbell took Savannah, drove the American forces out of Georgia, and brought the whole of that State under the British government. Campbell was soon after succeeded by General Prevost. He carried the war into South Carolina, defeated General Lincoln, one of the ablest of the American commanders, and seized Port Royal, an island favorably placed for an attack on Charlestown. In the autumn of 1779, Lincoln was joined by D'Estaing, with a land force of about five thousand men, and they proceeded to attack Savannah. All attempts, however, to take the place, by bombardment, storm and blockade, were alike unsuccessful; and in November D'Estaing departed from America. During this time other attacks were made by the British on Virginia and the other middle States. Much damage was done, and many places were taken, but Washington refused to be led into a pitched battle, and no decisive blow was struck. The only set-off against these British successes was the capture of Stony Point, by Wayne, an American general. This place had been lately taken from the Americans. Wayne, by a forced march, surprised the place, and carried it at the point of the bayonet. Though the British soon recovered Stony Point, yet Wayne's success seems to have done

A Bullet proof in the Woods.

a good deal to encourage the Americans. In the spring of 1780, the British, commanded by Clinton himself, attacked Charlestown. The commander of the American fleet, instead of waiting to oppose the British at the mouth of the harbor, sank some of his ships to block the entrance, and retreated with the rest. The British fleet made its entrance without much difficulty; and on the 11th of May the place surrendered. The garrison were allowed to march out with the honors of war. Congress now sent Gates to take command in the South. The success which attended him in the North now deserted him, and he was utterly defeated by Lord Cornwallis, whom Clinton had left in command. Other smaller actions took place, in all of which the British were successful. It seemed as if the British had completely mastered the Southern States. But, as in New Jersey in 1777, it was soon seen that it was easier for the English to conquer than to hold. Cornwallis and Lord Rawdon, who was next in command, both enraged the Americans by their harsh treatment of those who had opposed the British government.

In the North, the chief event of the year 1779 was the utter and ignominious defeat of an American force which had attacked a newly-formed British post at Penobscot. A fleet of thirty-seven ships had been prepared at considerable expense by the State of Massachusetts, and placed under the command of one Saltonstall. At the first sight of the British fleet he fled, and then, finding escape impossible, blew up the whole of his ships, save two which were captured. During the spring and summer of 1780 no important operations took place in the North; but later in the year the Americans narrowly escaped a very severe blow. Arnold, who had so distinguished himself before Quebec and against Burgoyne, was in command of a fort called West Point, on the Hudson. As it commanded that river, the place was of great importance. Various circumstances helped to make Arnold dissatisfied and disaffected. He had been tried by court-martial on the charge of having used his official power to extort money from citizens, and of having applied public funds and property to his own uses. On the last of these charges he was found guilty. Moreover, his extravagant habits had got him into difficulties. This, and the feeling that his services had been undervalued, led him into the design of going over to the British. The agent appointed by the British to arrange the treason was Major André, a young officer of great ability and promise. Everything was in train for the surrender of West Point, when André was captured within the American lines with a pass

Major Andre.

from Arnold. Papers found upon him disclosed the plot. Arnold had got warning before he could be seized, and fled down the Hudson in a swift rowing-boat. André was tried by court-martial, and hanged as a spy. This sentence was fully approved by Washington, who resisted all attempts to lighten the sentence. By some the execution of André has been reckoned a blot on the fame of the Americans. He, it is said, was acting as an authorized agent, under a flag of truce, and with the formal protection of Arnold, and so was entitled by the laws of war to pass in safety. On the other hand, it has been urged that the purpose for which he came, that, namely, of arranging an act of treachery, deprived him of all such rights; and that Arnold's protection was worthless, as being given by one whom André and the British knew to be a traitor. The Americans offered to release André on one condition: namely, that Arnold should be surrendered in his stead; but the British would not hear of this. During the rest of the war Arnold served in the British army, but with no great distinction.

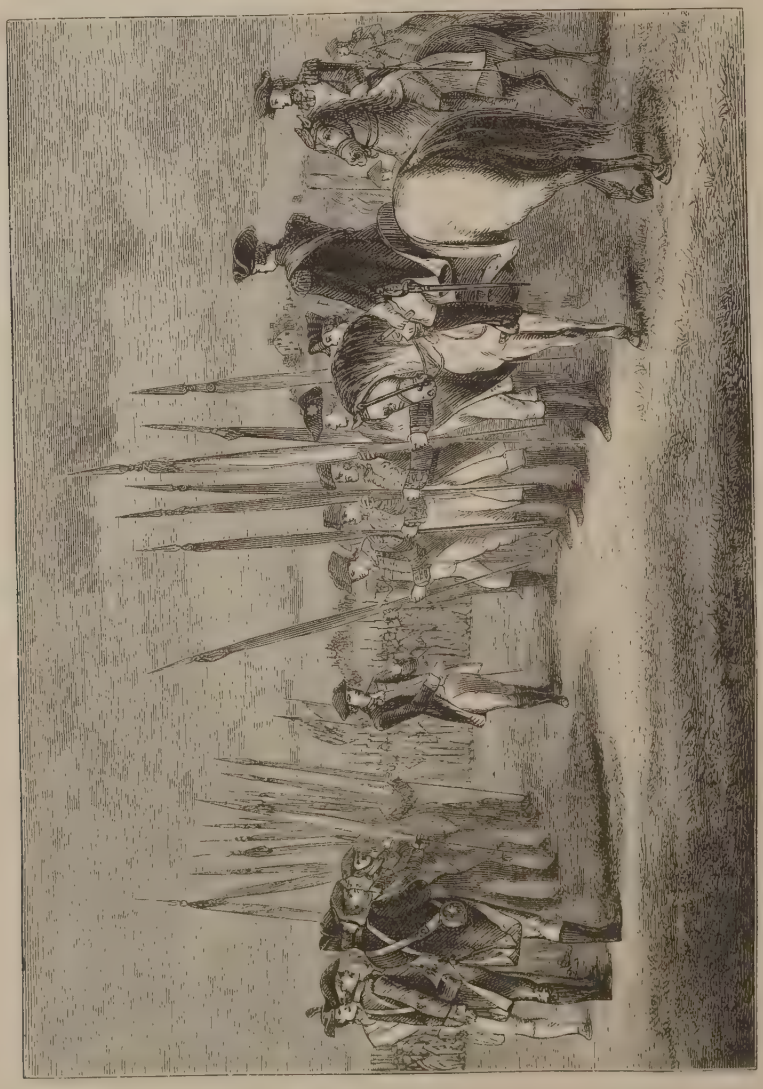
PAULDING'S MONUMENT.

Arnold's treason was not the only danger of that kind which threatened the Americans. On New Year's day, 1781, thirteen hundred of the troops in Pennsylvania, wearied by want of food, clothing, and pay, and by the indifference of Congress to their complaints, broke into open mutiny, killed two of their officers, and declared their purpose of marching to Philadelphia to obtain their rights by force. Washington, who understood the justice of some of their demands and the extent of their provocation, sent instructions to General Wayne, who was in command in Pennsylvania, not to resist the mutineers by force, but to get from them a statement of their grievances. At the same time he persuaded Congress to send commissioners to confer with the mutineers. One of their grievances was that they were not relieved from service, though the period for which they had enlisted had expired. On this point the commission gave way, though by doing so they ran the risk of weakening the American forces. Some of the mutineers took their discharge, but most of them returned to service. Sir Henry Clinton had supposed that this would be a favorable op-

portunity for drawing away the discontented forces from their allegiance, and sent two messengers to treat with them. But, so far from listening to these proposals, the mutineers seized the messengers and handed them over to the American commander, by whom they were put to death. The spirit of disaffection seemed likely to spread, and another mutiny broke out in New Jersey. This time, however, the government was prepared. A force of six hundred men held in readiness against such an emergency, was sent against them. The mutineers were taken by surprise, and two of the ringleaders tried by court-martial and shot. This put an end for the present to all outward show of disaffection.

For a while Cornwallis followed up his success at Charleston. His plan was to leave Lord Rawdon in command in South Carolina, and to march through North Carolina and Virginia, so as to join Clinton in New York. To do this it was necessary to take a line of march a considerable distance from the sea, where the streams were small enough to be easily crossed. This cut him off from all communication with the coast, and forced him to march through a country ill-provided with supplies and difficult of passage. In his march through Carolina he was opposed by the American forces under General Greene. This man, a Quaker by religion and a blacksmith by trade, had served as a private soldier in the early years of the war, and had risen by merit to the command which he now held. Unlike Gates, he stood high in the confidence and esteem of Washington. He showed considerable skill in his opposition to Cornwallis. In an engagement between some irregular American troops under General Morgan, and a part of Cornwallis's army under Colonel Tarleton, the British were defeated with considerable loss, but in a pitched battle soon after at Guilford the British were, after a stubborn contest, successful. Cornwallis, however, like Howe in the middle States, had other foes than the American soldiers to deal with. Even those inhabitants who professed themselves loyal showed no zeal or energy in supporting him. Horses could not be got, and thus Cornwallis was compelled to destroy all his wagons but four kept for the sick, and all his stores except those absolutely needed for the bare support of his men. In the meantime the Americans had received a great addition of strength. In July, 1780, a French fleet arrived, with a force of six thousand soldiers on board. Thus strengthened, in the spring of 1781, Washington was in a position to strike a decisive blow, and he felt that such an effort was needed to restore the spirits and confidence of his countrymen. For a time he doubted whether to attack Clinton at New York, or to march southward against Cornwallis. The arrival of a fresh fleet of twenty-eight ships from the West Indies, probably decided him to adopt the latter course. For a considerable time Washington made as if he would attack New York, so as to deter Clinton from

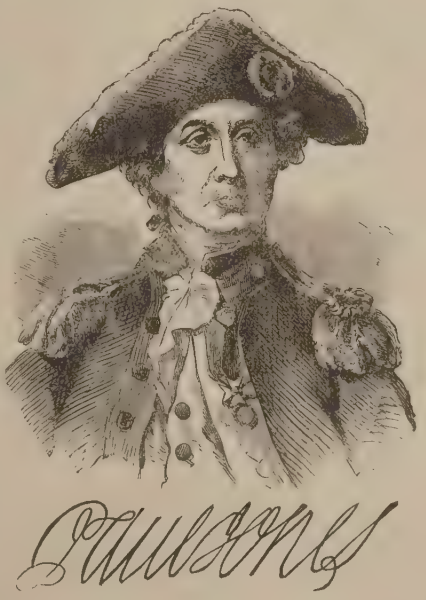
marching southward to join Cornwallis, and when the American and French forces at length set out towards Virginia, Clinton for a while regarded their march as a mere feint. Meanwhile Lafayette had been sent against Corn



THE SURRENDER OF CORNWALLIS.

wallis, not to engage in a pitched battle, but to harass him and hinder his movements. In this Lafayette succeeded. In September, Washington marched into Virginia with a force of some twenty thousand men, against seven thousand under Cornwallis. The position of Cornwallis was not unlike

that of Burgoyne at Saratoga. He was stationed at Yorktown. The chief advantage of this position was that it might enable Clinton's force from New York to join him by sea. But Clinton was delayed for a fortnight in setting out, and, as in Burgoyne's case, arrived too late to be of any service. On the 1st of October, Cornwallis found himself completely surrounded by land, and cut off from the sea by the French fleet. Many of his troops were rendered useless by sickness, and a desperate attempt to cross the Bay and force his way northward to New York was stopped by a storm. The Americans too were well supplied with heavy artillery, and the slender earthworks of Yorktown gave no shelter against their fire. A sally, in which two of the American batteries were destroyed, only to be at once repaired, showed the hopelessness of Cornwallis's position, and on the 17th of October he surrendered. This great defeat was in reality the conclusion of the war. Petty hostilities were carried on during the summer of 1782, but the defeat of Cornwallis left no question as to the final result.



Nothing has been said as yet of the American navy. As it took no part in any of the important operations of the war, it seems better to consider it separately. At the outset of the war the Americans were even less prepared by sea than by land. They had a militia, and their wars with the Indians and the French had given both officers and men some experience and skill. But at sea they had no such advantages. It is an easier matter, too, to drill and arm active and able-bodied men than to build a fleet. But, though there was no possibility of the Americans coping with the British navy, yet they were not altogether powerless on the seas. The ports of the northern colonies, especially of New England, had trained up a race of hardy and experienced seamen. Piracy too was rife on the American coast and in the West Indies, and thus the Americans had sailors ready to hand, well fitted for privateering service. Whenever the Americans attempted any combined operations by sea against the British, they failed, and, till the French fleet came to their help, their seacoast was almost at the mercy of the enemy. But a number of small vessels, some fitted out by Congress, others provided

with letters of marque, did great damage to British traders. So great was the terror which they struck that the rate of insurance, even for voyages between England and Holland, rose considerably. The most noteworthy commander at sea was Captain Paul Jones, an Englishman by birth, but in the service of the American government, who carried terror along the English coast, and even went so far as to burn the shipping in the harbor of Whitehaven.

Beside Cornwallis's defeat there were other things to make England eager for peace. The country was now engaged in war with France, Spain, and Holland, an allied fleet had been in the English Channel, and had threatened the Irish coast. The news of the surrender at Yorktown reached England on the 25th of November, and two days later, at the opening of parliament, the king announced the evil tidings and called on the nation for "vigorous, animated, and united exertions." This was the signal for an attack on the government, led in the Upper House by Shelburne, in the Lower by Burke. The latter scoffed at the folly of attempting to assert our rights in America, and likened it to the conduct of a man who should insist on shearing a wolf. Evil tidings from other quarters kept pouring in. Minorca, a British station and the best harbor in the Mediterranean, was in February surrendered to the French. In the same month Conway, who had been among the first to take up the cause of America in Parliament, brought forward a motion for giving over the war. Soon after Lord North, seeing that he could no longer reckon on the support of the House, resigned. His successor, Rockingham, died in the course of the year. Shelburne then became Prime Minister. He, like Chatham, whose follower and disciple he professed himself, had spoken strongly against separation, but now he felt that the struggle was hopeless, and negotiations for peace went forward. There was little to hinder the settlement of terms. America only wanted independence; England sincerely wished for peace; and each side was ready to grant what the other asked for. There were only two points on which there seemed likely to be any difficulty. The British government was unwilling to give the Americans the right of using the Newfoundland fisheries, and also required that the American government should compensate the loyalists for their losses during the war. On both these points the British government finally gave way. A demand made by the Americans for the cession of Canada was quietly abandoned. Crushed though England was, there was no likelihood of her making such a concession. All the British territory, however, between Georgia and the Mississippi was ceded, while, by a treaty made with Spain at the same time, England gave up the Mississippi and Florida. The treaty was arranged, though not formally signed, without consulting the French government. The treaty between France and

Morgan's Rifleman

SOUTH

America provided that neither should make a separate peace with England. The Americans got over this by making the treaty conditional only, and agreeing that it should not be formally signed till England and France had come to terms. The French not unnaturally thought this an evasion of the spirit, if not of the letter of their treaty. The Americans, however, justified themselves on the ground that the French, in their proposals for peace, had shown themselves indifferent to the advantage of America. No open breach, however, followed between the allies. On the 3d of September peace was signed, and the United States of America became an independent power.

CHAPTER XX.

THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION.

AS we have seen, the Articles of Confederation, although settled by Congress in 1777, were not accepted by all the States till 1781. The main hindrance to their acceptance was the claim of some of the larger States to unoccupied lands. Some of the old grants from the English crown reached to the South Sea, that is to say, they were practically unlimited towards the west. The State most to profit by this was Virginia. In May, 1779, the delegates from Maryland, instructed by the government of that State, opposed the claim of Virginia to this vacant soil, and Virginia, influenced by the example of New York, gave up her claims, so that in 1781 the terms of confederation were finally accepted.

The history of the war has served in a great measure to show the shortcomings of the Confederation. These mainly came from one great defect; its inability to force the citizens to comply with its wishes. After the war this was even more felt. Congress had no power of maintaining an army or navy, no control over trade, no means of raising public funds, and no mode of enforcing its will but by an appeal to arms. In the words of Washington, it was "little more than a shadow without the substance." Moreover, from its want of power, it was despised and neglected by those who should have been its chief supports. The ablest men were occupied with the politics of their own States. Congress consisted of little more than twenty members. The evils of this were soon seen. In 1786, after some difficulty, twelve states assented to a general system of import duties. The thirteenth however, New York, resisted, and thus one State was able to hinder a meas-

ure which was needful for the credit and security of the whole nation. So, too, articles in the treaty with England were set at nought by the different State governments. The treaty provided that all debts incurred up to that time between citizens of either country should still hold good; that no person should suffer any loss or damage for any part which he might have taken in the war. Laws, however, were passed by the various State legislatures in direct defiance of these articles, and all that Congress could do was to exhort them to annul these laws and to comply with the treaty. Congress too showed itself unable to deal with great questions such as were sure to come before a National Government. The inhabitants of the Southern States, and of the newly opened western territory, held that it was of the greatest importance to keep the right of navigating the Mississippi. Spain, which possessed the lower waters of the river, refused to grant this right, and, in the negotiations which followed, Congress was thought to show a want of spirit, and an indifference to the welfare of the nation.

Moreover, there were signs of disaffection which showed that the hands of Government needed to be strengthened. In 1781, as we have seen, the inattention of Congress to the wants of the army had led to a mutiny. In the next year a proposal was made by a colonel in the army, representing, as he himself professed, a large number of his brother officers, to make Washington king. The defence for this proposal was the alleged weakness of the Government. Though Washington met the proposal with a prompt and utter refusal, he accompanied this with a promise to do all that he could to secure the just claims of the army. In spite of the mutiny and of repeated warnings given by Washington, Congress showed an utter want of liberality, and even of honesty and justice, in its dealings with the army. In 1780, after many difficulties and great discussion, Congress promised the officers at the end of the war half-pay for life. But after the acceptance of the Articles of Confederation, no law was passed providing for a fulfilment of this engagement. A meeting of the officers was held, and an address was issued, setting forth the gross injustice of this breach of contract, and, but for the courage and wisdom of Washington, it is likely that a mutiny would have broken out, fatal perhaps to the newly-gained freedom of America. In the end the officers forwarded a temperate remonstrance, and Congress passed a resolution granting them five years' full pay after the disbanding of the army. An event which followed soon after showed the unreasonable distrust with which the nation regarded that very army whose toil and sacrifices had saved it. A society was formed, called the Cincinnati, to consist of the officers who had served in the war, and their descendants. This was to be a friendly association to keep alive among the members the memory of their joint service, and to establish a fund for the relief of its poorer members, their widows and orphans. Washington consented to be the first

president of the society, and this fact, it might have been thought, was a safeguard against any danger. Yet so strong was the popular dread of a military despotism that the establishment of the society met with widespread disapproval. So violent was the attack, that Washington thought it necessary to persuade the members to do away with hereditary membership, and to alter other features in the scheme. Even so, public displeasure, though lessened, was not altogether removed.

Besides the supposed danger from the army, there were other and better founded causes of fear. No State had suffered more by the war than Massachusetts. Its fisheries and its commerce were destroyed. Taxes had increased, while the means of paying them had lessened, and, as was natural in a time of distress, private debts had accumulated. Thus there came into being a distressed and discontented class, ready for any change. Public meetings were held at which the doctrine was laid down that property ought to be common, because all had helped equally to prevent it from being confiscated by the English government. The malcontents also proposed to do away with the State Council, and to abolish all taxes. In 1786 an open insurrection broke out, and fifteen hundred men took up arms headed by one Shays, who had served as a captain in the late war. Through the firmness and courage of the governor, James Bowdoin, the insurrection was suppressed, but the most alarming thing was that Congress, although it raised troops in case such an emergency should again arise, yet did not venture openly to declare the object for which these troops were enlisted. In short, it dared not assert either the will or the power to deal with the rebellion.

In this state of things, thoughtful men began to see that, if the United States were to exist as a nation, there must be a central government with direct power both in internal and external affairs; able to carry on foreign negotiations in the name of the nation, to issue commands to the citizens of the State, and to enforce these commands, if necessary, and to punish those who neglected them. The first man clearly to perceive, and boldly to declare this was Alexander Hamilton, one of the most far-seeing and courageous statesmen that any country ever produced. He had already distin-

guished himself in the war as aide-de-camp to Washington, and at a still earlier time by a series of essays on the rights of the colonies. But, though he had been among the most ardent supporters of American independence, no one saw more clearly the dangers of the new system. So highly did he value a strong central government, that frequently through his life he was denounced as the advocate of monarchy, and the enemy of his country's liberties. This charge was without the least foundation. Hamilton did indeed

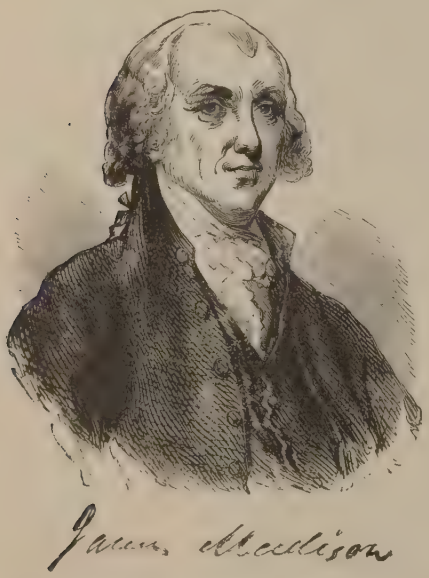
MARTHA WASHINGTON.

believe that the English government was in itself, and where it was possible, the best system, but he saw as clearly how unfitted it was for America. He wished his countrymen to copy, not the monarchical form of government, but so much of the English system as would make the constitution stable and lasting. In 1785 an opportunity offered for introducing such a change as he wished for. In the spring of that year commissioners were appointed from Virginia and Maryland to settle certain difficulties about the navigation of the Potomac river and Chesapeake Bay. They met at Mount Vernon, Washington's house, and there a plan was proposed for maintaining a

fleet on the Chesapeake, and for settling commercial duties. This led to the proposal made by the Assembly of Virginia for a general conference of commissioners from all the States to consider the state of trade. Hamilton saw that this conference might be made the instrument of wider changes, and he persuaded New York to send commissioners, himself among them. In 1786 commissioners from five States met at Annapolis in Maryland. Hamilton laid before them a report, giving reasons why it would be well if a convention of delegates from all the States should meet to consider the state of the National Government. The proposal was adopted. It might have seemed easier and more natural to refer the matter to Congress, rather than to form a special body for this one object. But Congress no longer represented the strength and wisdom of the nation, and it was generally felt that the task would be beyond it. On the other hand, it shows the wisdom of those who proposed the great measure that they so carried it out as not to weaken the authority of the existing government—that they did nothing to sweep away, or even to weaken, the old constitution till the new was ready.

In 1787 the Convention met at Philadelphia. It is scarcely too much to say that no body of men ever met together for a task of such vast importance to the welfare of mankind, or needing so much the highest powers of statesmanship. The President of the Convention was Washington. At the end of the war he had retired into private life, and had ardently believed and hoped that his career as a public man was over. So strongly did he wish for privacy, that he at first declined the presidency of the Convention. But the insurrection in Massachusetts showed him the dangerous condition of the country, and the need which she had for the service of every loyal and able citizen, and he accepted the post. In sending delegates to the Convention each State seems to have put out its utmost strength. But few statesmen of note, Patrick Henry included, were away. His hostility to any change in the government was so intense that his presence could have been nothing but a hindrance. The mere summoning of a Convention implied that something was to be done, and it was no place for those who were against all change. Hamilton, though he was in a great measure the cause of the Convention being called together, and though he afterward, by his arguments, did much to get the new Constitution accepted, yet had little to do with framing it. He differed widely in his views from the great bulk of the nation, and he seems to have seen the hopelessness of any attempt to force his opinions upon it. The man who was, above all others, the author of the Constitution was James Madison, of Virginia. He was a man of peculiarly moderate temper, able to understand both sides, and to sympathize in some measure with each, and he was therefore specially fitted to deal with a question which could only be managed by a compromise. For it must never be forgotten that the American Constitution did not represent

what any one party considered the best possible system, but was framed by each party yielding something. The difficulties before the Convention were various. First, there was the one great obstacle, the wide difference of opinion as to what the new Government should be. Some wished to see it completely override the various State governments. This view was expressed by Governor Morris, one of the ablest of Hamilton's supporters, who openly said that he regarded the State governments as serpents whose teeth must be drawn. Others were opposed to anything which could tend even to weaken the State governments. Besides this, there were other, though perhaps lesser, difficulties. All except the men of extreme views felt that there must be a strong central government, able at least to conduct the foreign affairs of the nation, and possessing such authority over the citizens as was needful for that purpose. At the same time, all wished to preserve the State governments. To combine these two objects was no easy matter. The differences between the various States greatly increased the difficulty. Some depended on trade, others on agriculture. Here every thing was done by free labor, here by slaves. Moreover, the forms of law procedure and the rules as to the right of voting were different in the different States. Above all was the great difficulty of dealing with small and large States, of giving due weight to the former without sacrificing the latter. All these difficulties could only be got over by some system of compromise, by a constitution, that is to say, which should in almost every point fall somewhat short of what each party would consider the best probable plan. Even so, nothing but a strong sense of the evils from which the nation was suffering, and of the dangers of its present condition, could have led the different parties to make such sacrifices of their own wishes as were needful. On one point, and one only, were all agreed, namely, that the new government must be republican and democratic; that is to say, that the rulers must be chosen by the mass of the people, and be really answerable to the people for their conduct while in office.



Two rough schemes were laid before the Convention, one by Edmund Randolph, of Virginia, the other by William Patterson, of New Jersey.

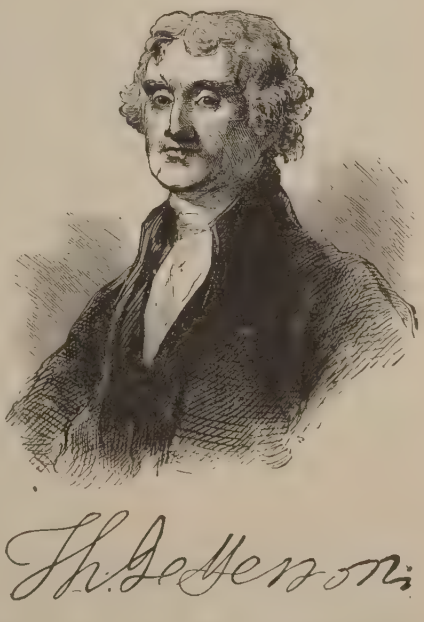
The former, which, with some changes, was finally accepted, represented the views of those who wanted a strong central government, the Federal party, as they were afterwards called; the other, those of their opponents. Hamilton also brought forward a scheme, but this went so far beyond the wishes and views of the mass of the Federals, that it met with no support. Finally Randolph's scheme was adopted, and the Convention applied itself to casting it into shape. The result, with some changes, has continued to be the Constitution of the United States to the present day. The chief provisions were as follows: The government was to be in the hands of a President and Congress. Congress was to consist of two Houses, the upper called the Senate, the lower the House of Representatives. In this the Convention was no doubt influenced by the example of the State governments, and so indirectly by that of England. There was, however, this special advantage in having two Houses. It got over, as no other contrivance could have done, the difficulty resulting from the difference of size between the various States. The members of the Upper House were to be elected by the State Legislatures, those of the Lower House by the qualified electors of the various States. But in the Upper House each State was to have two senators, in the Lower the number of representatives was to be proportioned to the population of the States. Thus the smaller States were not altogether put on an equality with their larger neighbors, nor altogether subjected to them. As in the Congress of the revolution, the question how the slaves should be reckoned in apportioning the representatives gave rise to much discussion. Finally a compromise was adopted, and three-fifths of the slaves were counted as population. The power of making laws was entrusted to Congress, but the President's assent was necessary. If the President should refuse his assent to a measure, it was to be sent back to Congress, and if again passed by a majority of two-thirds in each House, it became law. The President himself was to be elected for four years. He was not to be directly elected by the people, but by electors chosen by the citizens in each State. This was introduced with the idea that it would secure a wiser and more deliberate choice than if the people voted directly. But in practice the electors have been chosen, not for their general ability, but simply to vote for this or that candidate The number of electors for each State was to be equal to the number of senators and representatives together from that State. The manner of choosing these electors in each State was to be decided by the Legislature of that State. In most States they were chosen by the mass of the citizens; in some by the State Legislature. If two candidates for the Presidency got an equal number of votes, the House of Representatives was to vote between them, voting, not singly, but by States. If no candidate had more than half the votes, then the House of Representatives was to elect one out of the five

highest on the list. There was to be a Vice-President, who was to fill the President's place in case of a vacancy. At first the Vice-President was to be the second candidate for the Presidency, but this was found to give rise to great confusion, and after 1804 the Vice-President was chosen by a separate election, though upon the same system. Voting in all kinds of election was to be by ballot. The President was to have the appointment of all public officers, and to be commander-in-chief of the army and navy. The seat of government was to be a neutral territory belonging to none of the States, but under the direct control of Congress. This district (of Columbia) was granted by Maryland, and the seat of government is the City of Washington. There was to be one Supreme Judicial Court, presided over by a chief justice, who was appointed by the President for life. This Supreme Court was entrusted with the important task of dealing with all cases in which the enactments of Congress might clash with the enactments of the various State governments. By this means one of the great obstacles to a confederation was got over. All disputes between the two conflicting powers, the central Legislature and the State governments, were referred to a body independent of each. Moreover, those who felt the danger of a democratic constitution valued this court as the one part of the government which was not directly dependent on the people. On the other hand, thoroughgoing democrats like Jefferson looked on this as a flaw in the constitution.

When the constitution was drawn up, the difficulties of its framers had little more than begun. The question at once arose, how was the constitution to be put in force? Congress had no power to grant away its own authority to a new government, nor had the nation enough confidence in it to accept its decision. Accordingly the Convention resolved to lay it before the various States. The serious question then arose, what was to be done if some States accepted, some refused? Finally it was decided that, if nine States accepted it, the constitution should take effect, and that, if any of the remaining States refused, they must be left out of the new confederation. Accordingly Conventions of the various States were summoned. The con-

test was a hard one. Great service was done to the cause of the constitution by a series of essays called the "Federalist." These were written by Hamilton, Madison, and a third Federal statesman, Jay. The struggle was most severe in New York and Virginia, but in both the constitution at length prevailed. In New York the result was mainly due to Hamilton. In Virginia, Patrick Henry opposed it with the utmost animosity, and with the power and eloquence of his best days. It is even said that at one meeting he spoke for seven hours at a stretch. In justice to him, it should be said, as indeed it may be said of all the leading opponents of the new system, that, when the constitution was carried, they accepted it honestly and loyally. Henry in particular became conspicuous before his death as a supporter of the central government against the rights of the separate States. Rhode Island and North Carolina held out the longest, but they too at length acceded.

Washington, as all had foreseen from the outset, was called by the united voice of the nation to the Presidency. It is hardly too much to say that, if he had not existed, the Federal Constitution would never have been accepted by all the States. In him the nation had a leader who commanded the love and confidence of his fellow-countrymen as no other man ever has. But for this extraordinary good fortune, it is unlikely that the American people, with its violent dread and hatred of monarchy, would ever have consented to the rule of a President. The new government did not long enjoy peace. In the year 1787 hostilities broke out between the inhabitants of the newly-settled western territory and the Indians there. As in such cases generally, there seem to have been acts of unprovoked and unjustifiable violence on each side. Forces were sent against the Indians in 1790 and 1791, but both were defeated with heavy loss. Both the commanders in those expeditions, General Harmer and General St. Clair, were tried for incapacity, but acquitted. In 1794 Wayne, who had distinguished himself in the War of Independence, was sent against the Indians. He defeated them in a decisive battle, and in 1795 they sued for peace. In this war the



Th. Jefferson

government met with no small difficulty in enlisting an army. One party in Congress maintained that the war should be carried on solely by the border militia. Great inconvenience too was felt, as in the war with England, from the system of short enlistments. In 1794 an insurrection broke out in Pennsylvania. This sprung out of the discontent felt at the imposition of a duty on spirits. In this same year Washington was re-elected President. His second term of office was marked by still more serious difficulties. The relations of the States with England, France, and Spain were unfriendly. The English government refused to quit some of the western forts, on the ground that the States had not fulfilled the terms of the treaty. John Adams was sent as envoy to England, and was well received by the king. But for a while the points in dispute remained unsettled. The Spanish government refused the Americans the use of the lower waters of the Mississippi, and seized ships sailing there. Moreover, there were disputes about the boundaries of the Spanish and American territories. The manner in which peace had been made had done something to sow the seeds of discord between England and France. The outbreak of the French Revolution served further to alter the relations between the two countries. The moderate party in the States stood aloof from the successful revolutionists, and looked upon the influence of that party in America as dangerous, while the Democrats, headed by Jefferson, were drawn more closely towards France. The war between England and France threw the relations of America to both nations into still greater confusion.

Before going further, it should be said that two distinct political parties had now sprung up within the United States. As we have seen, there was, at the time of the settlement of the Constitution, a State-rights party on the one side, and a Federal party, as it was called, on the other. The State-rights party always denied the right of their opponents to the name of Federalist, declaring that they were equally in favor of a Federal government; that the real question was, which system was most truly federal, and that for one party to call themselves Federalists, and their opponents Anti-federalists, was begging the question. But the names, however incorrect in their origin, stuck to the parties, and so it is better to use them. The passing of the Constitution in a great measure overthrew the Anti-federal party. But, as soon as the Constitution was established, the old struggle was renewed in a slightly different form. The interpretation of the Constitution, when it came to be applied to particular cases, was almost as important as the actual form of it. The Anti-federals, on the one hand, strove to limit the power of the central government as much as possible, and to interpret the Constitution in the way most favorable to the State governments; the Federals wished in everything to strengthen the central government at the

expense of the separate States. In this, there can be no doubt that the extreme men on each side, and most, perhaps, those of the Federal party, strove to stretch the Constitution beyond what they must have known to be the wishes of its framers. It is important to understand clearly the origin and nature of these two parties, as the division between them runs on through all later American history, changing its form indeed, but still remaining in many important points the same. The Federal party was headed by Hamilton. Its main strength lay in the commercial States of the north and east, and especially among the New York merchants. The other party, with Jefferson for its leader, drew its strength mainly from the southern planters. Washington could not be said strictly to belong to either party; indeed, his neutrality was one of the points which gave the nation such confidence in him. His leanings, however, were toward the Federals. He had sought to do justice to both parties by appointing Hamilton and Jefferson the two chief secretaries of his cabinet, and making them thereby his principal advisers. The first great subject on which the two parties joined battle was the question of a national bank. This was Hamilton's project. The Anti-federals were opposed to it, as throwing too much power into the hands of government. They denied that the Constitution gave the government any power to form such an institution. Finally, the bank was established. Another even more serious matter, was the foreign policy of the government. As was said before, Jefferson and his followers were the friends of France; Hamilton and the Federals, of England. Reckless charges were brought against each of these statesmen, and have been repeated since, accusing them of readiness to sacrifice the interest of America to that of the European nation whom they respectively favored. But, whatever may have been the case with inferior members of the two parties, there can be no doubt that both Hamilton and Jefferson were above any such designs. Faults they both had as statesmen; but, widely as they differed in all things else, they agreed in serving their country faithfully, though on different principles, and in different ways. The ill-feeling of both parties was strengthened by the reckless conduct of Genet, whom the French revolutionary government sent as their representative to America. He sent out privateers from the American ports, and abused the American government openly for not breaking the existing laws of neutrality, where those laws favored England at the expense of France. This served to inflame both parties. So violent was the feeling called out among one section of the people that, but for Washington's firmness, they would probably have engaged the country in a war with England. A bill for stopping all trade with England was carried in Congress, and was only prevented from becoming law by the President's veto. In 1794, a treaty was made with England. Here, too, it was only Washington's influence which carried the question by a bare majority.

In 1797 Washington retired. Although his popularity was marred by the course he took about the treaty, yet he was pressed by many to stand for a third Presidency, and he probably would have been elected if he had stood. But he steadily refused, thereby setting a precedent which has been followed ever since. At the same time that he declined to stand, he issued a farewell address to his countrymen. He reminded them forcibly of the need for forgetting all distinctions and remembering only that they were Americans. "The name," he said, "of American must always exalt the just pride of patriotism more than any appellation derived from local discriminations." Following up the same line of thought, he pointed out that the difference between the northern, southern, eastern, and western States, so far from being causes for separation were in reality only reasons for a closer union, since each quarter required to be helped, and to have its wants supplied, by the resources of the rest. After his retirement, Washington took no active part in public life, but employed himself with the management of his estates and with farming, in which he took great delight. In the next year the fear of a French war obliged the government to make military preparations, and Washington was appointed commander-in-chief. The danger, however, passed over, and the rest of his life was spent in peaceful retirement. That, however, did not last long. In the next year, 1799, a cold, brought on by exposure, carried him off after a short illness. Not only in America, but in France and even in England, the news of his death was received with marks of public sorrow. The unpopularity which his foreign policy had brought upon him passed away, and did nothing to weaken the love, gratitude, and esteem with which his countrymen have ever regarded his memory. Never in all history have such feelings been better deserved. From first to last, no selfish ambition, no desire for aggrandizement, had ever led him astray from the duty which he owed to his country. Successful leaders of revolutions have always been exposed to special temptations, and have seldom altogether resisted them. Few have been more tempted than Washington; yet none has ever passed through the ordeal so free, not merely from guilt itself, but even from the faintest suspicion of guilt.

The election of a successor to Washington was the signal for a severe struggle between the parties. Jefferson was brought forward as the representative of the Republicans, Adams of the Federals. After a close contest the latter was elected. The Federals started another candidate, Thomas Pinckney, of South Carolina. The bulk of the party wished to see Adams President, and Pinckney Vice-President, but some of the Federals who were unfriendly to Adams—Hamilton, it was thought, among them—supported Pinckney for the Presidency. The result of this manœuvring was, that Jefferson came in second, and so was Vice-President. Before Washington's retirement, Jefferson and Hamilton had both left the cabinet. Adams could

MARTHA WASHINGTON'S RECEPTION.

not have been expected to have much confidence in Hamilton, nor is it likely that Hamilton would have served under him. His position, however, outside the cabinet, was in every way unfortunate and unsatisfactory. The members of Adams's cabinet were Hamilton's followers, and completely under his guidance. His influence was always separate from, and often hostile to, that of the President. At first, however, the prospects of the Federal party and of the government looked bright. The conduct of the French government was so outrageous as to disgust even those Americans who were naturally inclined to sympathize with France. When the news of the English treaty reached Paris, the American envoy was treated with great disrespect. Commissioners were sent out from America in hopes of settling the difficulty. The Directory, then at the head of French affairs, told the commissioners through private agents that the good-will of France could only be recovered by the payment of a sum of money. This demand created a great outburst of indignation in America, and a conflict seemed at hand; though war was not formally declared, an American frigate attacked and captured a French one. France, seeing that America was really roused, drew back, and in 1800 a treaty was signed between the two nations.

The conduct of France served for a while to make the Federals popular at the expense of the Republicans. But this did not last long. Adams, though an honest and upright man and an able statesman, was vain, ill-tempered, and unconciliatory. Moreover, he naturally resented the secret influence which Hamilton exercised over the cabinet. Before long, Adams was at war with his whole cabinet, and the Federal party was hopelessly broken up. To complete its ruin Congress forced upon the country two most unpopular measures, the Alien Law and the Sedition Law. The former of these empowered the President to order out of the United States, at his own discretion, any alien whose presence he should judge dangerous. The Sedition Law enforced penalties on any person who published false, scandalous, or malicious writings against the government, either House of Congress, or the President. Both these laws were generally felt to be opposed to the

principles of the American nation, and they brought the government into great disrepute. Moreover, the extreme Federals, led by Hamilton, were suspected of seeking to involve the country in a war with France. The French government too became more moderate in its conduct. Thus a strong reaction sprang up in favor of the Republicans. Accordingly, when Adams again stood for the Presidency, he was beaten. The Republicans carried their two candidates, Jefferson and Aaron Burr. The latter was a profligate adventurer of bad character. The intention of the Republicans was that Jefferson should be carried as President, and Burr as Vice-President. The two, however, were equal, and the House of Representatives had to vote between them. So bitter was the feeling among the Federals against Jefferson that many of them stooped to vote for Burr, and the two were again equal. The votes were taken thirty-four times with the same result. At last one voter went over, and Jefferson became President. It should be said to the honor of Hamilton, that he opposed this disgraceful intrigue against Jefferson.

In 1787 Congress made special provision for the admission of fresh States. This was of course necessary, as there was a vast territory to the west which was sure to be occupied sooner or later. The central government was empowered to form districts called *Territories*. These were to be formed, either out of soil which the nation had acquired by treaty or otherwise, or out of land voluntarily surrendered by any of the States. These Territories were to be governed, each by its own inhabitants, but according to a set constitution, and were to have governors appointed by the central government. When its number of inhabitants reached sixty thousand, it might then be admitted as a State, with the same rights as the older States, both as regards self-government and as a member of the Union. The first new State added to the Union was Vermont. This was a district to the north of Massachusetts, lying between the rivers Hudson and Connecticut. As early as 1760 disputes for its possession had arisen between New York and New Hampshire. The English government decided in favor of New York, but the people of Vermont refused to acknowledge the claim. In 1777 they applied to Congress to be admitted to the confederation as a separate State. New York opposed this, and the application was refused. Accordingly Vermont remained for some years nominally under the jurisdiction of New York. Its leading men even made overtures to the British government, wishing to be joined to Canada. Nothing however came of this, and after the Constitution was adopted Vermont applied to be admitted into the Union. The request was granted; New York accepted thirty thousand dollars as compensation, and in 1791 Vermont became one of the United States. The next State admitted was Kentucky. This was a district to the west of Virginia, which originally formed a part of that

State and gradually detached itself from it. Till about 1770 the country was only occupied by a few hunters and scattered settlers; but in 1782 the population had so increased that the distance from the capital of Virginia

THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER.

was felt to be an inconvenience. To meet this, a Law Court was established in the district, equal in power to that at Richmond. In 1785 a convention was held which petitioned the legislature of Virginia to make the district into a separate State. This was done, and in 1792 the State of Kentucky was admitted to the Union. In 1785 the inhabitants of the north-west

frontier of North Carolina wished to separate, and proposed to become a State under the name of Franklin. The matter, however, could not be settled at the time. In 1789 the legislature of North Carolina handed over the district in question to the United States. It was formed into a Territory, and seven years later it was admitted into the Union as the State of Tennessee. The treaty of peace with Great Britain gave to the United States a vast district between the Mississippi and the Alleghanies. This region was formed into a Territory in 1787, out of which five States have been formed since. In 1802 Ohio was admitted as a State.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE WAR WITH GREAT BRITAIN.

THE election of Jefferson marked the complete triumph of the Republicans. It was followed, as such political victories in America have been ever since, by wholesale changes in all the government offices. Jefferson turned out numbers of public servants, and replaced them with his own supporters. He pleaded in defence of this, that he could not trust the followers of his political opponents, Adams and Hamilton. Later Presidents, however, have, without any such excuse, followed his example. They have created vacancies simply to reward their own followers, and this has been shamelessly defended, on the plea that the conquerors are entitled to the spoils. In his opening address Jefferson laid down clearly the general principles of his party. He declared his intention of "supporting the State governments in all their rights as the most competent administration for our domestic concerns, and the surest bulwark against anti-republican tendencies." At the same time he spoke of "the preservation of the general government in its whole constitutional vigor, as the sheet-anchor of our peace at home and safety abroad." He also spoke strongly of the folly and danger of any attempt at separation, thereby differing widely from the champions of State-rights in later times.

Soon after Jefferson took office, Napoleon, then First Consul, extorted Louisiana from the Spanish government. This naturally alarmed the Americans. An active, ambitious, warlike nation, like France, was a far more dangerous neighbor than a worn-out power such as Spain. It was fortunate for America that the Republicans then in power had always striven to stand

well with France. Jefferson, knowing that the French government wanted money, at once entered into negotiations for the purchase of the territory in question. After some discussion, the whole of Louisiana was bought by the Americans for fifteen million dollars. This arrangement was carried out by the President and his cabinet, without the previous consent of Congress. In this exercise of arbitrary power Jefferson and his party were guilty of a breach of those principles which they had always upheld. The nation, however, was too well pleased with the result to question the nature of the proceeding. The Spanish government at first objected to the arrangement, and urged that it had given up Louisiana on the understanding that France should not part with it; but France and America were both ready to enforce the arrangement by arms, and Spain gave way. In 1804 the southern part of the newly-acquired land was formed into a Territory, and in 1812 it was admitted as the State of Louisiana.

In 1801 the United States were engaged in their first foreign war. When the Federals came into power under Adams, the American navy was far too weak to protect the rapidly growing commerce of the country. In spite of the opposition of the Republicans, who were hostile to everything which strengthened the hands of government, much was done during Adams's presidency to put the navy on a better footing. The result of this was soon seen in the dealings of the American government with the petty states on the coast of Barbary, namely, Tripoli, Algiers, Tunis, and Morocco. Pirates from these states, sanctioned, if not sent out, by their rulers, harassed the commerce of civilized nations. The rapidly growing trade of America was especially exposed to these attacks, and accordingly the American government, like some of the European governments, secured its citizens against the pirates by a yearly payment to the rulers of the Barbary States. In 1800, the Dey of Algiers, presuming on the weakness of the Americans, ordered the captain of the ship which brought the yearly tribute to take an ambassador for him to Constantinople. As the ship lay under the guns of the fort, the captain dared not endanger her by refusing. In 1801 the Pasha of Tripoli, thinking that his State had been treated with less respect than Algiers, threatened to declare war on America. Next year the Americans sent a fleet of four ships to pacify the various Barbary States, or if, as seemed likely, war had been already declared, to attack them. The American commander found on his arrival that the Pasha of Tripoli had declared war. During the year the Americans took several ships belonging to Tripoli, but struck no serious blow. Next year a fleet of six ships was sent out. It attacked Tripoli without any decisive result. In 1805, the fleet blockaded Tripoli, and was helped by a land force under the command of Hamet Caramalli. He was the elder brother of the reigning Pasha, but had been deposed, and had fled to Egypt. With a mixed force, officered in

part by Americans, he marched on Derne, a town in the State of Tripoli, and took it. This was the first time that the American flag was hoisted over any place in the Old World. Thus, threatened both by land and sea, the Pasha was glad to make peace. The terms granted him were liberal—in the opinion of many of the Americans, too liberal. No more tribute was to be paid, but the Pasha was to receive sixty thousand dollars as ransom for American prisoners. The claims of Hamet Caramalli, having served their turn, were forgotten. Immediately afterwards the Dey of Tunis threatened the American fleet with war, unless they restored a vessel which they had seized on its way into Tripoli. The American commander not only refused to do this, but told the Dey that no tribute would be paid in future. The Dey at first blustered, but when the American fleet appeared before Tunis, he gave way entirely. These successes put an end, as far as America was concerned, to the disgraceful system of paying blackmail to the Mediterranean pirates. During the war great courage was shown in many cases by American officers and seamen, and the practice which they gained bore fruit in the ensuing war with Great Britain.

We have seen how, through the intrigues of a section of the Federal party, Colonel Burr pressed Jefferson closely for the Presidency. In the spring of 1804 Burr stood unsuccessfully for the governorship of New York. During the contest Hamilton used severe, though just language, about Burr. Burr challenged him; they fought, and Hamilton was killed. Other American statesmen have done greater service to their country; none probably ever understood the nature of its Constitution so well as Hamilton, or foresaw so clearly the special dangers which lay before it. Burr was soon engaged in fresh misdeeds. He was detected in a plot, the object of which has never been clearly discovered. He was found to be transporting troops and supplies to the southern valley of the Ohio. It seems doubtful whether his object was to raise an insurrection in the West, or to make an independent and unauthorized attack on Mexico with the help of disaffected inhabitants of that country. He was tried on the first of these charges and acquitted. The second was then allowed to drop, as the government probably felt that his schemes were completely discredited and his power of mischief destroyed. He fled to Europe, and was no more heard of in public life.

The election of Jefferson and the ascendency of the Republicans naturally drew the United States towards friendship with France and enmity to Great Britain. The great European war, by crippling the resources both of England and France, threw the carrying trade into the hands of America, and rapidly increased the American merchant navy. A demand for sailors sprang up, and to supply this, American merchant captains readily received deserters from the British navy. British commanders sought to recover these men, and thus a question arose as to the right of search—the right,

that is to say, of British officers to search neutral vessels for deserters. The bitter feeling which thus sprang up was increased by the fact that British commanders were often unscrupulous in forcibly impressing American citizens. To such a length was this carried that it was believed that, before the end of the great European war, several thousand American-born citizens had been pressed into the British navy. In 1807 a question of this kind led to a conflict between two vessels, the British *Leopard* and the American *Chesapeake*. The commander of the *Leopard* demanded to search the *Chesapeake*. The American captain refused. Thereupon the *Leopard* attacked, killing five men and wounding sixteen. The British captain carried off four men who were alleged to be deserters. Three of these were proved to be American citizens wrongfully claimed by the British. The British government made full amends, but the ill-feeling created did not pass away. The growing commercial greatness of the United States soon brought them into conflict, both with Great Britain and France. Each of these nations tried to injure the other by forbidding neutral vessels to enter the ports of its enemy. The American government met this by laying on an embargo, forbidding all vessels to leave the American ports. This measure naturally annoyed the New England merchants, and drove them even more than before into the ranks of the Federal party. At the same time the government began to make active preparations for war, and especially to strengthen the navy. In 1807, Madison succeeded Jefferson as President. He had taken a leading part in forming the Constitution, and in pressing it upon the nation. At first he was a moderate Federal, but he had gradually drifted round, and was now Jefferson's Secretary of State. In 1810 France and Great Britain each professed itself ready to repeal its decrees, if the other would do so first. But neither would take the first step. So far, the quarrel had been as much with France as with Great Britain, but circumstances arose which turned the scale against the latter. Another fight between two ships sprang up out of a claim to search, put forward by the British. Another grievance was the complaint that English agents were stirring up disaffection in the border settlements and intriguing with the Indians there. Moreover, in 1811 Napoleon withdrew his decree against commerce between England and America. No similar concession was made by the British government. On the 18th of June, 1812, the American government, on the ground of the various injuries received from Great Britain, declared war. Five days afterward, before that declaration reached England, the British government withdrew its orders against commercial intercourse with France. Attempts were then made to restore peace. Each government, however, stood firm on the one point of the right of search. In going to war on such trivial grounds, there can be no doubt that the Americans were influenced by their old sympathy and alliance with France, then engaged in her great struggle against the free nations of Europe.

The Americans began the war with an attack on Canada. General Hull led the invading force, composed of two thousand militia and five hundred regulars. The British were aided by an Indian force under Tecumseh. He was a Shawnee chief, a man of great ability and energy. He had gained great influence over the Indians, and had made vigorous, and partially successful, efforts to restrain the Americans from encroaching on his countrymen, to wean the Indians from their habits of drunkenness, and to withhold them from selling their lands. Tecumseh had a brother called the "Prophet," a man fully as ambitious as himself, but far less wise. Under his leadership the Shawnees had in 1811 attacked the settlers in Ohio and been defeated by General Harrison at a place called Tippecanoe, after a long and fierce engagement. But as this attempt had been made in Tecumseh's absence and against his wishes, the failure had in no way weakened his influence. His alliance now was of much service to the British. Aided by him, Brock, the British commander in Canada, drove back the invading force into the town of Detroit, and there surrounded and captured them. A smaller American force soon afterwards made another attack on the Canadian frontier. This attempt also failed, and nearly the whole of the invaders were captured, but the British lost their commander, Brock. Next year the attack on Canada was renewed, but with no great success. Several detached attacks were made, but one only effected its object. A force of two thousand men under General Dearborn destroyed the British town of York (now called Toronto). In all the other expeditions the Americans were defeated, in some cases with great loss. Finally, they concentrated their forces, numbering four thousand, for an attack on Montreal. Some trifling engagements followed, in which the British had the best of it, but nothing decisive was done. The British, however, were unsuccessful in their one attempt to push the war into the United States. A British force of five hundred regulars and seven hundred Indians, well provided with artillery, under General Proctor, attacked Fort Stephenson on the north-west frontier. This place was held by Colonel Croghan with one hundred and thirty-three men. He refused to surrender,

Pickets on Duty.

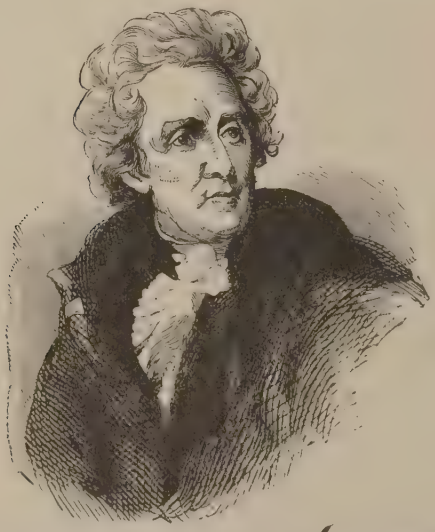
and beat off the assailants, killing one hundred and fifty of them, and losing, it is said, only one of his own men. Later in the year the Americans were more successful. In September Commodore Perry, with nine vessels, defeated a British squadron of like size on Lake Erie. In the same year, General Proctor was defeated on the River Thames in Canada after an engagement, in which Tecumseh fell. As a set-off against these defeats, the British took Fort Niagara, with large stores, and Buffalo, then a village on the American frontier.

At sea the Americans were more successful than by land. Their fleet at the outset of the war was weak in numbers, containing only seven frigates and eight smaller vessels. But their officers were for the most part brave and skilful seamen, and the flourishing American merchant service gave the country the means of manning its regular navy quickly and well. The British navy, on the other hand, had become careless through continued success, and the press-gang system rendered the service unpopular and the men disaffected. In the first year of the war the Americans were victorious in four successive engagements between single ships. But in the spring of 1813 a British fleet of twenty sail entered the Chesapeake Bay. The Americans could not encounter so large a force, and it sailed along the coast, doing much damage. The most remarkable naval event of this year, and indeed of the whole war, was the fight between the *Chesapeake* and the *Shannon*. The *Chesapeake* was the same vessel that had been attacked by the *Leopard* six years before. She was a ship of thirty-eight guns, under the command of Captain Lawrence, and was fitted with every warlike appliance that the skill of the day could suggest. Her crew, however, had been aggrieved by some prize-money being withheld from them, and some of her officers were inexperienced. The *Shannon* was also a thirty-eight gun ship, commanded by Captain Broke. She had taken twenty-five prizes, every one of which Broke had destroyed, rather than weaken his crew by drawing out men to take charge of them. Her inferiority to the *Chesapeake* in fittings and resources was more than made up for by the courage of her captain and the high training and seamanship of her crew. During the spring Broke lay off Boston harbor, waiting for an American vessel to come out. None came, and his supplies began to run short. At length he sent a written challenge to any of the American fleet, whereupon the *Chesapeake* bore

A Floating Battery.

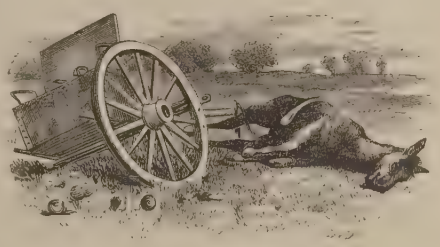
down upon him and opened fire. After ten minutes the *Shannon* was laid alongside. The British boarded, and in five minutes, after a fight in which Lawrence fell, the Americans struck their flag. The American loss was forty-seven killed and ninety-nine wounded. On the British side twenty-four were killed, and Broke with fifty-eight others wounded. After this affair, remarkable rather as a brilliant duel than for any real importance in its results, nothing noteworthy was done by sea on either side.

The year 1813 saw the Americans engaged with a fresh foe. The Creek Indians, led on by the influence and example of Tecumseh, made war on the south-western states. This was of interest and importance, not only for its own sake, but because it brought into public view one of the most remarkable men in American history, Andrew Jackson. The leader of the Indians was one Weathersford, a half-breed, a man second only to Tecumseh in ability and influence. The first place attacked was Fort Mims, an outpost on the borders of Alabama. So little did the commander of this place expect an attack that, when a negro brought news of the Indian preparations, he was flogged for raising a false alarm. A few hours afterward the fort was attacked, and after a fierce fight was taken. Some of the garrison escaped, but out of five hundred and fifty occupants of the fort four hundred, including all the women and children, perished. Four hundred of the Indians also fell. Weathersford did his best to restrain the ferocity of his countrymen, but to no purpose. The south-western States at once raised forces for an Indian war. That from Tennessee was the first in the field. It was commanded by Andrew Jackson, whose ancestors had emigrated from the North of Ireland. He was now forty-six years old; he was a lawyer by profession, and had been appointed judge of the Supreme Court in his own State. He had also served against the Indians, and was now appointed major-general of the Tennessee army. He was a man of great decision and energy, and considerable ability, but



Andrew Jackson

wild in his habits and liable to fearful outbursts of passion, which had frequently engaged him in disreputable quarrels. He was still suffering from wounds received in one of those affairs when he was called on to take the field against the Creeks. Nevertheless, he rose from his sick-bed and went forth at the head of two thousand five hundred men. A detachment of his force attacked and took a stronghold of the Indians called Tallushatches, and soon after Jackson himself defeated the enemy in a pitched battle at Talladega. After this a succession of mishaps seemed at one time to threaten the army with destruction. A party of Indians who had come to make their submission and to ask for terms, were by mistake attacked and cut off. This made the Indians feel that there was no resource but to fight it out to the last, and turned some who might have been friendly, or at least neutral, into enemies. Moreover it was midwinter, and the troops suffered both from the severity of the weather and from lack of provisions. Jackson, too, was beset by the same difficulty as the commanders in the revolutionary war. His men were only enlisted for short periods, and they claimed their discharge just when their services were most needed. Once they openly mutinied, but they were brought back by Jackson's prompt dealing and resolute bearing. At last they refused to advance, as it seemed, to certain starvation, and even Jackson had to yield. Supplies, however, came just when they were most wanted, and the troops were able to advance. In two skirmishes with parties sent out by Jackson the Indians had the best of it, but for more than two months nothing decisive was done. In March, Jackson advanced with his whole force, numbering about one thousand. The Creeks made their stand at a bend of the river Tallapoosa. During the delays caused by the disturbances in the American army the Indians had ensconced themselves in a strong log-fort. Their number of fighting men was about nine hundred. After a fierce fight the Indians were routed with great loss. This, called the battle of Tallapoosa, is generally looked upon as the blow which destroyed the last remnant of Indian power. In the meantime Governor Clayborne of Alabama had attacked and defeated an Indian force under Weathersford. Weathersford himself saved his life by leaping his horse into the river off a bluff fifteen feet high. By these two defeats the power of the Creeks was utterly broken. Some fled to Florida; the bulk of the nation sued for, and obtained peace, surrendering more than half their territory to the American government. This war was important in two ways;



Unfit for Duty.

firstly, as setting free the Southern States, and thereby enabling them to employ all their forces against the British invasion; secondly, as being the first step in the career of Andrew Jackson, a man who probably had more influence on his country for good and evil than any President between Jefferson and Lincoln.

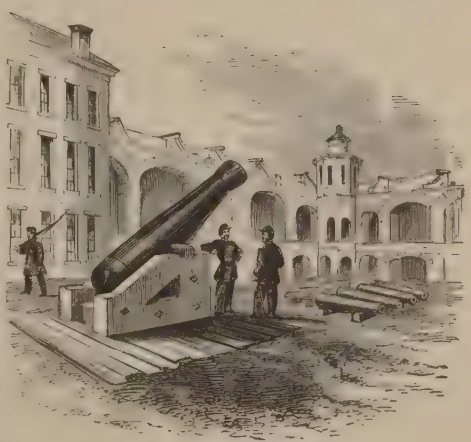
The beginning of the campaign of 1814 was disastrous to the Americans, and not altogether creditable to the British. The settlement of peace in Europe enabled Great Britain to turn all her forces against America. But, instead of concentrating all its power in one great attack, the British government aimed a succession of blows at different points. In August a force of four thousand men under General Ross sailed into Chesapeake Bay. The commander of the American fleet, instead of opposing their landing, burnt his ships and joined the land force. The British thereupon decided to march on Washington. The force opposed to them consisted of one thousand regulars and five thousand militia. Instead of contenting themselves with harassing the British, for which they were better fitted, they drew up ready for a

View of Fort Henry

pitched battle at Bladensburg, a point covering Washington. The British drove them back, without much loss on either side. The American commander, however, decided that his force was too much weakened by the flight of the militia to hold Washington, and accordingly he evacuated the city. The British marched in and destroyed the government property, including the Capitol, the President's house, and the national records; a barbarous violation of the usages of war among civilized nations. Their next proceeding was to march on Baltimore. They were supported by a squadron of fifty sail under Admiral Cochrane, which sailed up the Patapsco river. The town was garrisoned with one thousand five hundred men, nearly all militia. Its chief defence was an outwork called Fort Henry, on the Patapsco. The land force met with little resistance in its advance, although it lost its commander, Ross, in a skirmish. The fleet bombarded Fort Henry, but was unable either to silence the enemy's guns or to force

its way past. As the land force did not appear strong enough to make the attack unsupported, the attempt was abandoned. In the meantime the British had sustained a severe loss on the coast. Sir Peter Parker, a naval officer of much note, who was in command of a frigate in the Chesapeake Bay, had landed with a small force, and had been killed by an outlying party of Americans.

On the northern frontier the war had been carried on actively on both sides, but without any decisive result. In May the British took Oswego, an important place on the American side of Lake Ontario. In June the Americans renewed their attempt to invade Canada. They crossed near Niagara with more than three thousand men, captured Fort Erie, and defeated the advance-guard of the British at Chippeway. On the 25th of July they encountered the whole British force at Lundy's Lane, near Niagara. A fierce engagement followed, with heavy and nearly equal losses on each side, but with no decisive result. The Americans kept Fort Erie for a while, but finally judging that they could not hold the place, they destroyed it, and returned to their own territory. In September Sir George Prevost, the governor of Canada, made an attempt, somewhat like Burgoyne's, to invade the United States by way of Lake Champlain. He was supported by a fleet of seventeen sail. But a small American fleet under Commodore McDonough engaged the British fleet and utterly defeated it at Plattsburgh, near the northern end of the lake. Thereupon Prevost abandoned his attempted invasion.



A Heavy Gun.

By far the most important events of this war were those in the South. In the course of the summer of 1814 it became known that the British were meditating an attack on the Southern States, probably at the mouth of the Mississippi. The defence was entrusted to Jackson, fresh from his victory over the Creeks. He found that the British had established themselves at Pensacola, in the Spanish territory of Florida. Jackson himself took up his position at Mobile, on the coast of Alabama. The chief defence of Mobile was Fort Bowyer, on a point commanding Mobile Bay. On the 15th of September the fort was attacked by the British both by sea and land, but was gallantly and successfully defended by Major Lawrence. Jackson sent a ship

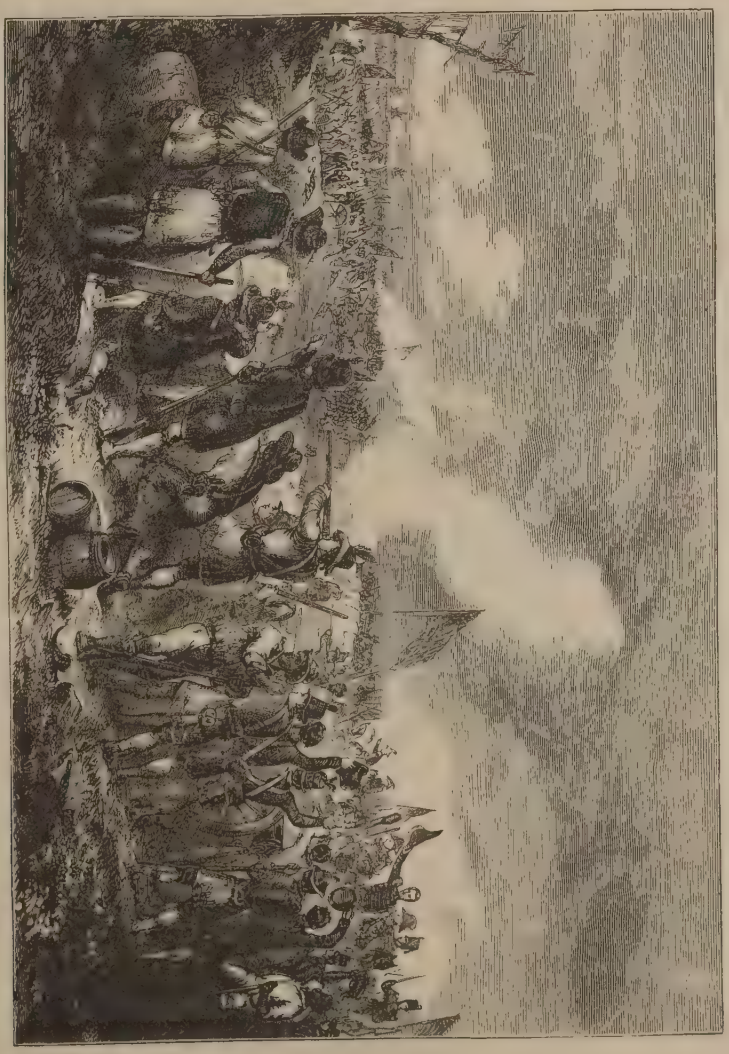
to its relief, but the captain, hearing a terrific explosion, came back and told Jackson that the fort had fallen. The explosion in reality was caused by the blowing up of a British ship which had been set on fire by the guns of the fort. After this success, Jackson marched upon Pensacola and seized it, considering that the Spaniards, by harboring the British, had forfeited their rights as neutral. The British now proceeded to attack New Orleans. Some doubts seem to have been felt on each side how far the French-born Louisianians would be true to the American Union, of which they had lately become citizens. There seems to have been no ground for these suspicions, and the Louisianians were throughout loyal to their new government. There was also the fear of a rising among the slaves. Moreover, the American supply of arms was miserably insufficient; but the strong will and courage of Jackson overcame or lightened every difficulty. On the 24th of November the British fleet of fifty sail anchored off the mouth of the Mississippi. Two plans of attack were open to the British: to ascend the river and attack New Orleans by water, or to land the troops and march on the city. To do the former it would have been necessary to destroy the forts which guarded the river, or at least to silence their guns. This was considered too difficult, and the British commanders decided to attack by land. Accordingly, on the 21st of December the British troops disembarked. They were opposed by a fleet of small vessels, but the British gunboats beat these off, and the troops made good their landing. They were under the command of General Pakenham, a brother-in-law of the Duke of Wellington. He had shown himself a brave soldier in the Peninsula, but had done nothing to prove his fitness for command where much skill and judgment were needed. He himself, with a considerable body of troops, did not arrive till some days after the landing of the first detachment. Till his coming, the British troops, numbering about three thousand, were commanded by General Keane. At first the Americans were ignorant of the exact position of the enemy, but on the 23d they learned that the British army was within nine miles of the city. The news was brought by a young planter, whose house had been seized by the British troops. All the rest of the household had been captured, and but for his escape the city might have been surprised. Jackson then marched out, and an engagement followed. After a whole night's fighting, during which the British were much harassed by the fire of two vessels in the river, the Americans retired. Keane, it has been thought,

Flat-boats used for Disembarking Troops.

BATTLE MONUMENT, BALTIMORE.

...ebmar Her... Publisher New York

ought then to have marched straight on the city. Few men, however, would have ventured on such a step in the absence of their superior officer. Moreover, Pakenham was expected to bring up large reinforcements, and Keane



General Jackson at the Battle of New Orleans.

could not know that fresh troops were daily pouring into New Orleans and that Jackson's hopes were rising with every hour of delay. After this, Jackson stationed himself outside the city and threw up earthworks for its

defence. Every man and horse that could be pressed into the service was employed. On the 25th Pakenham arrived, and three days later an unsuccessful attack was made on the American works. Here, as before, the two American ships in the river greatly annoyed the British troops, till one was sunk and the other driven off by the enemy's guns. On the 8th of January the British made their general attack. They numbered seven thousand three hundred, the Americans twelve thousand. Pakenham sent a detachment across the river to seize the forts on that side, which would otherwise have annoyed his main body by a cross-fire. This attempt was completely successful, but the main body was defeated with terrific loss, and Pakenham himself fell. Jackson did not attempt to follow up his victory, and, after a few skirmishes between the outposts, the British embarked and sailed off.

Fulton's First Steamboat.

Though the war was in reality over and peace signed when this battle was fought, yet the victory was of great importance to the Americans. It saved New Orleans, a rich and populous city, from the horrors of a sack. Coming also immediately after the Indian war, and contrasted with the American defeat at Washington, it begot an enthusiastic admiration for Jackson which laid the foundation of his great political influence.

While this carnage was going on before New Orleans, the two nations were no longer at war. Commissioners from Great Britain and the United States had met at Ghent in July to discuss the terms of peace. These were easily arranged. Great Britain at first insisted that her right of impressing sailors on the high seas should be acknowledged by the Americans; America insisted that it should be formally renounced. Each at length gave way on

this point, and the matter was left as before. The British gave up their conquests on the Canadian frontier, so that the boundaries remained as they had been before the war. The Americans refused to admit the Indians who were allied with the British to a share in the treaty, but at length promised not to molest them. On the 24th of December peace was signed; the terms of it are the best proof of the trivial grounds on which war was declared.

Two mechanical inventions, made in America about this time, deserve special notice from the important effects which they at once produced. One was the cotton-gin, invented in 1793 by Eli Whitney of Massachusetts. This was a machine for separating the fibre of the cotton, the part used in manufacture, from the seeds. Hitherto this had been done by hand. Machinery had already been contrived in England for the making of cotton goods, but its full use was hindered by the cost of the raw material. Before Whitney's invention not much cotton was exported from the United States. In 1794 a million and a half pounds were exported, and in the next year five and a quarter millions. The immediate effect of this in America was to call into life a new form of industry, cotton-planting. The warm swampy lands of the Southern States rose enormously in value, and at the same time the demand for slave labor was greatly increased. Soon after this, another invention was brought in, more wonderful than the cotton-gin, and far more remarkable in its effects on the whole world, though not perhaps on America. This was the steamboat, which was introduced into America by Robert Fulton of Pennsylvania. The idea of the steamboat had been thought of by others, but Fulton was the first who successfully carried it into practice. His first steamboat was launched on the Hudson in 1807. The great immediate effect of this was to increase immensely the importance of the two main rivers of the United States, the Hudson and the Mississippi. The Mississippi became more than ever the great line of communication, binding together the Southern and Western States. Some twenty years earlier, Franklin had put forth emphatically the value of the Mississippi to the United States, declaring that to ask them to part with it was like asking a man to sell his front door. The invention of the steamboat gave double force to Franklin's words.

CHAPTER XXII.

SOUTH CAROLINA AND NULLIFICATION.

ABOUT this time the differences between the North and South began to make themselves felt. But as those differences and the conflicts that rose out of them, at least so far as they concerned slavery, form one connected chain of events ending in the War of Secession, it will be better to consider them separately, and to pass them over for the present, except when they are inseparably mixed up with the events of the day. In 1817 Madison was succeeded as President by another Republican, Monroe. He was a man of no special power, who had served creditably in various public offices. He is best known by his assertion of what was called the Monroe doctrine of "America for the Americans." A rumor was afloat that the European powers intended to interfere to restore the authority of Spain in her revolted colonies in South America. Thereupon Monroe declared that he should consider any attempt on the part of European powers "to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety."

James Monroe

In 1825, at the end of Monroe's second term of office, Adams, the son of the great Federal statesman, became President. He was a highly-educated and thoughtful man, too much so indeed to be a popular statesman. He strengthened the navy, and supported improvements, roads, canals, and the like, which the Republicans wished to leave to the various States. But the point on which the two parties were most strongly opposed was the question of import duties. Originally the North was for Free Trade and the

South for Protection. The former took this line from the belief that the shipping and carrying business would gain by free trade; the latter upheld protection because they were the chief producers and so wished to keep out foreign rivals. Accordingly, in 1816, Calhoun of South Carolina brought in and carried a bill imposing protective duties. But before long the Northerners found that they were the gainers by this. Their manufactures rapidly grew, and thus it became their interest to keep out foreign goods. At the same time the heavy import duties prevented the South from buying imported articles, and forced them to depend for such on the North. Thus, when the question of duties was brought forward in 1828, the two parties had changed sides. The South, under Calhoun, were fighting for Free Trade; the North, led by Daniel Webster of Massachusetts, for Protection.

In 1826 the 4th of July was kept with great national rejoicings. It was marked by one of the most noticeable events in history, the death on that day of Jefferson and Adams, the two men who had drawn up the Declaration of Independence. Though for a while estranged, they had been reconciled and had for many years corresponded as friends. Adams's last words were "Thomas Jefferson yet survives." In reality, when those words were spoken, Jefferson had been dead a few hours. The death of those old men seemed a sort of omen for the time to come. No President of the United States has been chosen since the election of John Quincy Adams, as were his father and Jefferson, as being the most cultivated and enlightened statesman of the day. He and all that went before him were men raised by training and social position above the ranks of the people; all that have come since have been taken from the common run of citizens.

J. Q. Adams

In his second candidature Quincy Adams was opposed by General Jackson. The main issue between the two parties was the commercial one. The one, consisting mainly of Northern merchants, were for high protective duties; the other, whose strength lay among the Southern planters, for free trade. Jackson's chief claim to office was the popularity gained by his services in war. Over and above this, he showed a strength of will and a power of commanding men which, as we shall see, were perhaps more

needful for a President just at this time than knowledge and culture. Hitherto, however, his force of character had shown itself chiefly in high-handed abuses of authority, as commander. After his defence of New Orleans, he had conducted a war against the Seminole Indians in the South. There he had set at nought the orders of his own government; he had seized Spanish towns without due authority, and had executed two British prisoners on the ground that they were intriguing with the Indians, but on evidence far too weak to justify such a measure. In 1824 he had been brought forward as candidate for the Presidency, and had been beaten by Adams. In 1828 they were again rival candidates, and this time Jackson was elected.

Like Jefferson, Jackson signalized his entry to office by a wholesale discharge of government officials. True to the principles of his party, he reversed as far as possible Adams's measures for strengthening the navy and for granting the aid of the government to internal improvements. His term of office was marked by two great struggles. The most important of these was against the extreme members of his own, the Democratic or States Rights party. In 1832 the import duties were lowered, but not enough to satisfy the South. South Carolina had always been the most active and independent of the Southern States. There, more than elsewhere, the planters regarded themselves as a separate and superior class, and looked down upon the traders of the North. In Calhoun, South Carolina found a leader well suited to her. He had been elected Vice-President under Jackson. His family came from Ireland, but had been for many years settled in America. He may be looked on as a type of all the best, and of many of the most dangerous, characteristics of the Southern planters. As a speaker, he was clear and forcible, though unpolished. But his influence lay not in his oratory, but in the intense earnestness of his convictions, his devotion to his own State, and the loftiness and purity of his private character. He believed firmly in slavery as a system of life, a form of industry, and above all as insuring the political ascendency of the South. He held this belief like a religious creed, to which he clung with the unbounded devotion of a fanatic. Under his leadership, South Carolina called a Convention and refused to accept the tariff. This line of action was called Nullification, and was based on the doctrine that any State had a right in extreme cases to refuse to be bound by the enactments of the

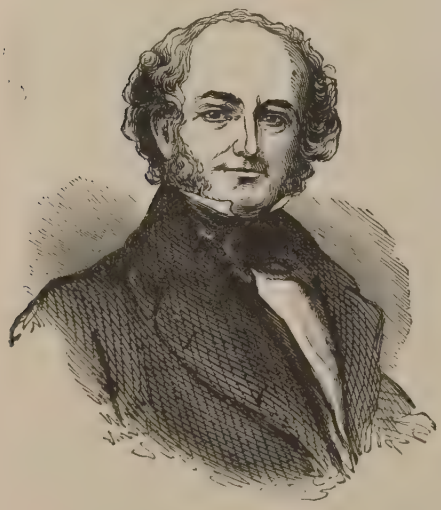
THE PALMETTO, EMBLEM OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

central government. This was not the first case in which a State had shown such a tendency to disobedience. During the war of 1812, a Convention of Northern citizens, who were strongly opposed to the war and to the other measures of the government, had met at Hartford, in Connecticut, and had, it is said, discussed the possibility of separation. But the affairs of the Hartford Convention were conducted with great secrecy, and seem to have excited little alarm. It was not so with the hot-blooded planters of South Carolina. They were known to be making preparations for resistance, and it seemed for a while that civil war was at hand. Jackson's courage and promptitude, and the power which he had shown of striking swiftly and effectually with hastily-collected and ill-organized forces, now stood the Union in good stead. Southerner and Democrat though he was, he was as passionately attached to the cause of the Union as Calhoun was to that of his own State. Jackson publicly announced that the Union must be preserved at all hazards, and made preparations as for war. He was supported, not only by his own party, but by the Federals. Webster made in Congress one of his greatest speeches, in which he clearly pointed out that there was no alternative for any State between obedience and rebellion, and that to allow each State to decide how far it need obey the National Government was practically to destroy that government. A conflict was prevented by a compromise. This was effected in a bill brought forward by Clay of Kentucky, providing that the import duties should be gradually reduced. This was finally carried. The supporters of it thought that any measure ought to be adopted which would remove the danger of civil war, and at the same time preserve the authority of the Constitution. Many of them too must have seen that the demands of South Carolina were in themselves reasonable, whatever might be said of the way in which they were urged. Others felt that, by yielding anything to threats, they would weaken the authority of the Constitution, and encourage like attempts in the future.

Jackson's other great struggle was against his natural opponents, the Federals, and on behalf of Democratic principles. In 1832 the National Bank applied for a renewal of its charter from government. This was opposed in Congress. The Federals, headed by Webster, supported it, and it was carried: but the President refused his approval. The bank retaliated by using its vast influence to prevent Jackson's re-election, but failed. Jackson then withdrew all the public moneys in it and transferred them to banks in the various States. The opposition to the bank was based, partly on the old Democratic hostility to central institutions, partly on alleged mismanagement and corruption. These charges seem to have had some foundation, though they were probably exaggerated. The withdrawal of the public money and the refusal of a charter did not at once destroy

the bank, but they deprived it of its character as a public institution and led to its downfall.

About this time a new political party sprang up, calling themselves at first National Republicans and afterwards Whigs. As the latter name showed, they supported the Constitution as the safeguard of national liberty. The leaders of this party were Henry Clay and Daniel Webster. The former was the son of a Kentucky clergyman, the latter of a New England farmer. Both were sprung from the middle class and rose into public life by their success as lawyers. Both were men of liberal mind and wide culture, and remarkable for sobriety of judgment. In eloquence, Webster has probably never been equalled by any of his countrymen, unless, perhaps, by Patrick Henry. Neither Clay nor Webster ever attained the Presidency, partly because the allegiance of the party was in a measure divided between them. Moreover, during their period of public life it was found necessary to select as candidates for the Presidency, not men of brilliant ability, but moderate and safe men, against whom no special objection could be urged by any one. Though Webster and the Whigs supported Jackson on the question of Nullification, yet on the Bank Charter and other important matters they were opposed to him. In 1829 Van Buren, the Secretary of State, in a paper of instructions to the American minister in England, blamed the policy of Adams's government, and instructed the minister to disavow their proceedings in his dealings with the British cabinet. Webster held that this introduction of party politics into diplomacy would be injurious to the relations of America with other countries. The Senate supported this view, and when, in 1832, Jackson nominated Van Buren as minister to England, they took the serious step of refusing to sanction the appointment.



M. Van Buren

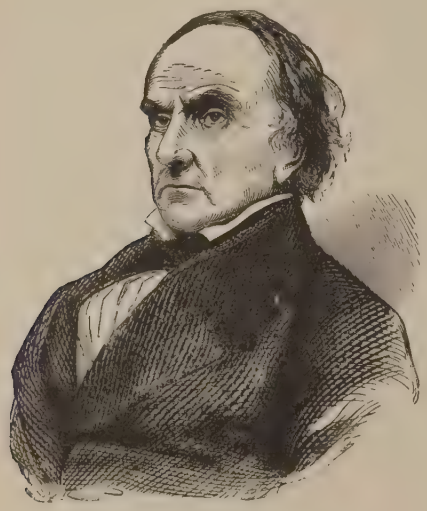
Jackson was succeeded by Van Buren, a Northern Democrat. He was a man of education, and his writings on American politics show that he understood the Constitution of his country far better than the generality of his party, better perhaps than any statesman of his day except Clay and Webster. But he was either wanting in energy and force of will, or unfortunate in having few opportunities of showing such qualities. He seems

to have shrunk from the exercise of power, but, when forced to use it, to have done so with wisdom and dignity. During his term of office the government was involved in considerable trouble with the Indians. For more than ten years measures had been going on for moving them westward. Hitherto the Indians had been merely savage enemies on the outskirts of the States; but now things took a new turn. They began to form settlements, which might fairly be called civilized, in territory which the United States claimed. Those settlements refused to acknowledge the authority of the United States, and so were likely to be a source of much trouble. The National Government therefore adopted the policy of buying up the lands and transferring the Indians to territories in the West. Such bargains must always be one-sided affairs, with craft on the one hand and ignorance on the other, and quarrels soon broke out, leading to a number of detached wars. The most troublesome of these was with Jackson's old foes, the Seminoles, who held out in Florida under a brave chief named Osceola. They made themselves specially obnoxious to the Southern planters by receiving runaway slaves. At length Osceola was treacherously captured by his opponent, General Jessop, and resistance gradually died out. These wars cannot be regarded as of much importance. When once the Indians and the white settlers began to be mixed up together, and their territories to overlap and interlace, the fate of the Indians was sealed. Their only chance was to present an unbroken frontier of wild country tenanted only by savages. As soon as the traders could come among them, corrupting and dividing them, all possibility of united and effective resistance was at an end.

In 1841 General Harrison, the Whig candidate, who had been defeated by Van Buren in 1837, was elected President. His claim to office rested entirely on his military services. His fitness for his position was never tested, as, after holding office for a month, he died. According to the provision of the Constitution he was succeeded by the Vice-President, John Tyler. The most important event of his Presidency was the settlement of certain threatening differences between America and Great Britain. For a long while there had been an unsettled question between the two countries as to the boundary of Nova Scotia. There were also more serious subjects of dispute. In 1837 an insurrection broke out in Canada. The insurgents were aided by a party of Americans. To check the latter some of the loyal Canadians crossed over to the American bank of the St. Lawrence, and destroyed the *Caroline*, a vessel belonging to the friends of the insurgents. In the affray which followed, one American was killed. For this, Alexander Macleod, a British subject, was arrested. Fortunately he was acquitted. In 1841 an American vessel, the *Creole*, was sailing from Richmond to New Orleans with a cargo of slaves. The slaves rose, seized the vessel, and took

her into the British port of New Providence in the West Indies. The authorities there assisted the slaves to escape. Thus each nation was furnished with a grievance against the other, and such ill-feeling resulted that serious fears of war were entertained.

Fortunately Webster, who was Tyler's Secretary of State, was liked and respected by British statesmen. In 1842 Lord Ashburton was sent out from England to negotiate a treaty. The main point to be settled was the boundary between Canada and the Northern States. The difficulty occurred which specially besets Federal governments in their dealings with foreign nations, in the matter of territory. The question affected, not merely the whole American Union, but more especially the States of Maine and Massachusetts, to which the territory in dispute would belong. These States might reasonably suspect that their special interest would be sacrificed to those of the Union. At length the matter was settled by a compromise. Great Britain gave up the larger and more valuable share of the disputed territory, and the United States government paid a sum of two hundred and fifty thousand dollars to the States of Maine and Massachusetts to make up the loss of the rest. Two other points of importance were settled by this treaty. One was the suppression of the slave-trade by the two governments. This it will be better to deal with when we come to the whole question of slavery. The other was the mutual surrender of criminals. This was beset by some difficulty. The United States demanded that this arrangement should include fugitive slaves, a point on which the British government was resolved not to yield, or even to admit anything which could be afterwards twisted into a pretext for such dealings. At length Lord Ashburton was satisfied on this point, and the treaty was signed in the summer of 1842. Both in England and America fault was found with the provisions of the treaty as going too much to the other side. Webster and the other defenders of the treaty reasonably enough appealed to this as a proof of its fairness.



Daniel Webster

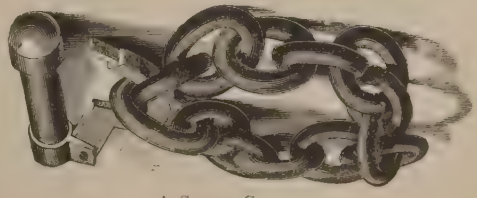
During the period through which we have passed several new States

had been added to the Union. Indiana and Michigan were formed out of the unappropriated western territory; and Missouri and Arkansas out of the remainder of the French province of Louisiana. The Territory of Florida had been formed out of the land ceded by Spain. Besides this, Territories had been formed in the west out of the lands gained from the Indians. In the North, too, a fresh State had come into existence. In 1820, with the consent of Massachusetts, Maine was formed into an independent State.

CHAPTER XXIII.

GROWING OPPOSITION BETWEEN THE NORTH AND SOUTH.

WE must now go back somewhat to trace from its beginning the contest between the Northern and Southern States. This struggle turned on two points, Free Trade and Slavery. So far as Free Trade was concerned, we have already seen how matters stood. We have now to deal with that which proved in the long run a far more serious difficulty, Slavery. When the Constitution was drawn up, there seemed every prospect of slavery being gradually and peaceably extinguished. Some of the leading statesmen, notably Washington and Jefferson, themselves Virginia slaveholders, looked forward to abolition. It was provided by the Constitution that the importation of slaves should not be interfered with till 1808, and in that year it was made illegal. The first origin of the distinct struggle for and against slavery was the admission of new States to the Union. The five old Southern States—Maryland, Virginia, the two Carolinas, and Georgia—soon found themselves united in opposition to the North. Their habits and ideas, and, above all, their commercial interests, were different from those of the Northerners. Thus it was clearly to the interest of the South that the new States should also be Slave States, and so be inclined to cast their lot in with it. Accordingly, when Carolina and Georgia gave up to the Union those districts which afterward became Tennessee and Alabama, they specially stipulated



A Slave Chain.

that Congress should not interfere with slavery in those Territories. As the Southerners favored slavery on political grounds, so the Northerners opposed it. Thus, when, in 1820, it was proposed that Missouri be admitted as a State, a fierce struggle ensued. The North demanded that slavery should be prohibited in Missouri; the South denied the right of Congress to impose any such restriction. At last an arrangement was made, known as the Missouri Compromise. Slavery was permitted in Missouri; but, to compensate the North, it was provided that slavery should henceforth be prohibited north of 36° 30′ north latitude in all new Territories and new States.

As we have seen, the number of representatives which each State sent to Congress was determined by the number of its inhabitants, and the slaves were reckoned, not in full, but at the rate of three-fifths. This gave the Southern States a distinct interest in increasing their number of slaves. Thus they learnt to look on slavery as the sheet-anchor of their political power. And as the differences between the North and South on matters of commerce and foreign policy grew wider, so much the more firmly did the South hold to slavery. In this, as in the matter of Free Trade, Calhoun was the great leader and representative of Southern opinion. The ascendency of the South, and above all that of his own State, were the objects to which his whole life was devoted, and, as was but natural, he looked on slavery, the corner-stone of that ascendency, with like devotion. In this contest the South enjoyed one great advantage. They were united; the North was not. The South were almost to a man Democrats. In the North, the most eminent men, and especially the New England merchants, were nearly all Federals; but there were many Northern Democrats who were allied with the South.

J. C. Calhoun

In spite of the Southern anxiety for the spread of slavery, enough of the old feeling against it still remained for various measures to be passed against the slave trade. By the Treaty of Ghent both nations pledged

themselves to oppose it. In 1820 it was declared by Congress to be piracy; and by the Ashburton treaty the two nations agreed to employ a joint squadron on the African coast to suppress it.

We may now take up the general history where we left off, and trace those events which brought the contest between the North and South to a head. In 1821 Mexico threw off the yoke of Spain, and became an independent Republic. In 1827, and again in 1829, attempts were made by the United States to purchase from Mexico Texas, a fertile territory adjacent to the Southern States, and resembling the best parts of them. Mexico, however, refused to part with it. Soon afterwards a number of emigrants from the Southern States moved into Texas. In 1835 the inhabitants of Texas, headed by one Houston, a Virginian adventurer, rose against the Mexican government. They defeated the forces sent against them, captured Santa Anna, the President of Mexico, and forced from him an acknowledgment of their independence. They then formed Texas into a republic, with a constitution modelled on that of the United States, and made Houston president. In less than a year the people of Texas asked to be joined to the United States. Indeed it was generally believed that from the outset this had been the object of the Southern adventurers who went thither. The South were extremely anxious for their admission. The soil and climate of Texas fitted it for slave labor, and thus it was sure, if it were admitted and slavery allowed there, to swell the strength of the Slave States. All the ablest statesmen in the North were strongly opposed to its admission. They pointed out that it would involve the nation in a war with Mexico, that it would strengthen the South unduly, and lead to disputes which might rend the Union asunder. Webster put forward these views strongly. Van Buren, a Democrat, and Clay, a Southerner, went with him. Calhoun, alone among statesmen of note, was in favor of annexation, avowedly as a means of strengthening the Slave States. Adams and a number of members of Congress drew up a protest, pointing out that all the proceedings about Texas had for "their objects the perpetuation of slavery and the continual ascendency of the slave power," and going on to say that annexation would "not only result in a dissolution of the Union, but fully justify it." But the Democrats were bent on annexation. They refused to support Van Buren for the Presidency, and brought forward an obscure man named Polk, who opposed Clay, and was elected. The Whigs then, seeing that annexation was certain, tried to lessen the evil

A Texas Ranger.

by providing that in half the newly-acquired territory slavery should be prohibited. They failed, however, to carry this. It was finally arranged that Texas should be at once admitted, and four additional States gradually formed out of the newly-acquired land. As regarded slavery, the old line of the Missouri Compromise was to be observed, but as that was two hundred miles beyond the northernmost part of Texas the concession was of no value. Under these conditions, in 1845 Texas became one of the United States.

As might have been expected, Mexico did not sit down tamely under the loss of Texas. The United States government, fearing some attempt

A Mexican Town.

to recover their new territory, garrisoned it with a small force. Their commander, General Taylor, was warned by the Mexican government that, if he advanced beyond a certain boundary, it would be taken as a declaration of war. He disregarded this warning, and the war began. After some unimportant operations in the west, in which the Americans were easily victorious, Taylor took possession of the town of Matamoras. By June, 1846, his force was brought by fresh reinforcements up to six thousand. With this he marched on Monterey, a strong place, where the Mexicans had concentrated their forces to the number of ten thousand. After three days' hard fighting, Monterey fell. Taylor's force, however, was too much weakened for him to venture on an advance. Early in 1847 Santa Anna, the President of Mexico, marched against Taylor with twenty thousand men. Taylor, with five thousand men, advanced to meet him. The Mexicans made the first attack at Buena Vista. Partly through Taylor's accidental absence, the Americans were for a while thrown into confusion, but upon his return they rallied. The battle was indecisive, but next morn-

CONQUEST OF NEW MEXICO.

ing the Mexicans withdrew. In the meantime another army had invaded Mexico in the west, and had conquered California with scarcely any difficulty, except what arose from the nature of the country. In the spring of this year an invading force of twelve thousand men sailed under General Scott, the American commander-in-chief. On the 9th of March they reached Vera Cruz. This place was very strongly fortified, but in every other respect wretchedly unprovided with means of resistance. The Americans were allowed to land unresisted; they threw up earthworks and

A Mexican Farm-house.

opened fire on the place from sea and land. After four days' bombardment, to which the besieged made no attempt to reply, the place surrendered. Scott then marched inland and defeated Santa Anna, who had taken a strong position at Sierra Gordo. The Americans then advanced unchecked within fifteen miles of the city of Mexico. Here serious operations really began. At the time of the Spanish conquest the city of Mexico was surrounded by a lake. This was drained by Cortez, and the city consequently now stood in the middle of a valley. The approaches to it were guarded by a number of strong fortresses, and a canal forming a moat belted the city. One by one these outlying fortifications were captured, and on the 14th of September the American army fought its way into the capital. After this the Mexicans made no further resistance. From a military point of view, the chief importance of the war was the education which it gave to the American officers, especially in the art of marching troops through an enemy's country cut off from their own base. The most distinguished officers in the great Northern and Southern war had learned

their business in Mexico, and such marches, daringly planned and successfully carried out, were among its most conspicuous features.

On the 2d of February, 1848, peace was signed at Guadalupe Hidalgo. Mexico resigned her claim to Texas, and also handed over New Mexico and California to the United States for a payment of fifteen million dollars. By far the most important part of the acquisition was California. This gave the United States the Pacific as well as the Atlantic seaboard. In fact, it may be looked on as, in some sort, the completion of that great westward movement which had been going on during the whole of this century. The possession of California made it certain that the American people must in time form one continuous community across the whole continent of America.

The only other noticeable feature in Polk's Presidency was the dispute with Great Britain as to the north-west boundary between the British possessions and a district belonging to the United States called Oregon. Polk and the Democratic party laid claim, without a shadow of foundation, to territory which twenty-five years earlier had been universally recognized as British. So resolutely was this claim urged that there seemed at one time danger of war. Webster, however, with the same anxiety to preserve peace which had guided him in framing the Ashburton treaty, opposed the Democrats. For this he was bitterly denounced as having, both in this case and in the Ashburton treaty, betrayed his country. But the claims put forward by the Democrats were so clearly untenable that they were abandoned, and the boundary proposed by Webster was adopted. In 1848 this north-west district was formed into a Territory with the name of Oregon, and five years later a fresh Territory was taken out of it, called Washington.

In 1849 Polk was succeeded by General Taylor, who died on the 9th of July following. His successor, Vice-President Fillmore, was a well-meaning and fairly sensible man, but unfit for the difficult times in which his lot was cast. The forebodings of Webster and the other Northern statesmen as to the result of the increase of territory was soon fulfilled. California claimed to be admitted as a State, and the newly-acquired districts were to be settled as Territories. The question then arose whether slavery was to be permitted in these districts. It seemed at first that, if they were left to themselves, slave-labor would prevail there, as their natural character was suited to that system. But the gold discoveries in California had drawn thither numbers of free workmen. Consequently it was clear that, if it was left to the majority of the inhabitants to settle the question, they were sure to vote against slavery. There were various circumstances which made the South specially anxious that slavery should be admitted into California. They believed that, once admitted, it would become prevalent, and that California would be added to the number of Slave States. Moreover, the hostility to slavery was growing stronger in the North. The Northern States were

showing themselves backward in helping the South to recover runaway slaves. Moreover, two Free States, Wisconsin and Iowa, had been lately added to the Union, and the Slave States were anxious to recover the influence which they had thus lost. Hitherto they had taken up the ground that slavery was a question to be dealt with by each State for itself. Now they changed their ground, and declared that it was unjust to allow the government of any State or Territory to prevent any citizen of the United States from emigrating with his property, that is to say his slaves, into the newly-acquired lands. The contest began in 1846, while the acquisition of the land in question was still doubtful. In that year David Wilmot of Pennsylvania brought forward a motion, providing that slavery should be excluded from all Territories acquired by treaty. This, commonly called the Wilmot Proviso, was carried in the House of Representatives, but defeated in the Senate. Next year it was again proposed with a like result. Calhoun met this by a series of resolutions, declaring that any such measure would deprive the slave-holding States of their rights, and would tend to subvert the Union. So fierce did the strife become that many of the most thoughtful statesmen began to fear separation or civil war. In this crisis Clay, now a man of seventy-two, and in broken health, came forward as a peace-maker. Like Webster, who now supported him, Clay had always held a moderate position between the two extreme parties. His proposal was that the question of slavery in California and in the new Territories should be left to the local governments. This was a concession to the South in the matter of Territories, to the North in the matter of California. He also proposed that the inland slave-trade should be abolished in the District of Columbia, but that provision should be made for the stricter enforcement of the law for recovering runaway slaves in Free States. The success of this scheme, called Clay's Omnibus Bill, was in a great measure due to the support of Webster, who, in one of his most eloquent speeches, pointed out the danger of separation. During this struggle the South lost its great leader, Calhoun, who died at the age of sixty-eight.

Fillmore was succeeded as President by Pierce, a man much of the same stamp as Polk. His Presidency was conspicuous for a number of petty quarrels with foreign nations. He and his cabinet contrived to embroil the United States with Great Britain, Denmark, Spain, Brazil, Paraguay, and the Sandwich Islands. In internal politics there was a lull. Clay's bill had brought peace, but only for a while. A great change had gradually come over both North and South in the matter of slavery. In the beginning of the century the feeling about slavery had been much the same in the North and South. Both regarded it as morally evil, and looked forward to a time when it should die out. Indeed there seems to have been a stronger feeling against it among the Southern planters, who knew its evils, than among the

Northern merchants. As late as 1831 and 1832 the Assembly of Virginia discussed the question of extinguishing slavery. But gradually this feeling changed. Slavery was the keystone on which the political power of the South rested; and they came to value it, and we may almost say to love it, for its own sake. So far from regarding it as an evil to be gradually extinguished, they openly defended it as the only proper and wholesome form of society, and any one in the South who ventured to speak against slavery was in danger of his life. On the other hand, a strong feeling had been growing up in the North against slavery. A small but active party had sprung up, called Abolitionists, who denounced slavery, and published books setting forth its evils, and telling stories, some no doubt false and exaggerated, but many certainly true, of the horrible cruelties perpetrated by Southern slave-holders. At first this party was almost as unpopular in the North as in the South, and the publisher of the first Abolition newspaper, William Garrison, was nearly pulled to pieces by a mob. Gradually, however, the Abolition party gained numbers and influence, and ventured to put forward the doctrine that Congress ought to suppress slavery. Moreover, they assisted slaves to escape, thereby breaking the fugitive-slave law. When we consider what sufferings the re-capture of a runaway often brought with it, it is hard to blame men for resisting it, and breaking a law which they believed to be unjust. Yet, considering how important it was not to irritate the South, or to give them any just ground for complaint, such doings were to be regretted. Many leading Northern statesmen felt this. They believed that slavery would gradually die out of itself, that the Abolitionists were only infuriating the South and hardening it in its support of slavery, and that the only effect of their efforts would be to break up the Union. In 1846 a political party sprang up called Free-soilers, who opposed slavery, but by constitutional means, namely, by supporting the Wilmot Proviso. This party put forward Van Buren as its candidate at the Presidential election in 1845, but was defeated. Before long they played a very important part in American history, under the name of the Republican Party.

A Bloodhound.

Exodus of Slaves.

In 1857 an event occurred, which strengthened the Northern feeling against slavery. A case was tried on appeal before the Supreme Court, concerning the freedom of a negro, Dred Scott. Chief Justice Taney's de-

cision was understood to lay down the following rules:—I. That negroes, although free, could only be citizens of some one particular State, but not of the Union, and so could not enjoy any of the rights secured by the United States Constitution. II. That Congress had no power to forbid slavery in any Territory. III. That slaves, if bought in Slave States, could then be moved to Free States and still remain slaves. This judgment made the Abolitionists feel that the pressure of slavery was far more severe, and the task of abolition far more difficult, than they had thought.

In 1854 part of the Missouri Compromise was repealed. This left every Territory free to take its own course about slavery. The result was that the Territory of Kansas became a battle-ground for the two parties. The North wished that a majority of the inhabitants should be against slavery; the South for it. Each kept pouring in fresh emigrants to outnumber the

Lawrence, Kansas, in 1857.

other. At first the South was successful, and a code of laws was established with many and stringent provisions on behalf of slavery. This was brought about, it is said, not by legitimate emigrants, but by a mob of low Southerners, with no occupation and no real connection with Kansas, who passed across the border, took possession of the polling places, and carried the elections against the real citizens. A succession of outrages, amounting almost to a civil war on a small scale, followed. At last, however, the party from the North was successful, and Kansas was definitely settled as a free State.

Pierce was succeeded in 1857 by Buchanan. Of all the American Presidents he seems to have been the most utterly unfit for his place. The main events of his Presidency will be better mentioned when we come to deal with the war. One, however, may be noticed now, as it stands by itself and has no direct connection with the political proceedings of the time. That was the execution of John Brown. He was a New Englander, descended from the original Puritan settlers. His four sons were among the Northerners who fought to keep slavery out of Kansas. Not content with joining and helping them, he led a sort of crusade against slavery into the South. He was attacked at Harper's Ferry in Virginia by the United States troops, as well as by the State militia. After a desperate fight, in which most of his followers were killed, he was himself taken and hanged. His attempt was lawless, and, considering the time and the temper of the South, it was unwise. Yet he deserves the credit due to all who lay down their lives in a hopeless struggle for what they believe to be right and just.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE SOUTHERN CONFEDERACY.

THE contest for the election of Buchanan's successor was marked by a new subdivision of parties. The Democrats were split into two divisions. The main issue on which the Democrats separated was that of allowing each Territory to settle for itself whether slavery should be permitted within it. The Southern Democrats held that this was an unfair interference with the rights of slaveholders. Moreover, this section of the Democratic party showed signs of favoring the re-establishment of the African slave-trade. On these points the Northern and Southern Democrats separated. The former brought forward, as their candidate for the Presidency, Douglas, United States Senator from Illinois. The extreme Democrats, chiefly the Southerners, brought forward Breckinridge of Kentucky, who was serving as Vice-President under Buchanan. The old Whigs, the followers of Webster, under the name of the Constitutional Union party, brought forward Bell of Tennessee as their candidate. The Republicans, which had grown out of the old free-soil party, supported Abraham Lincoln. He had been born in Kentucky

and brought up in Indiana. His father was a poor man of unsettled habits, with no regular occupation. The son, Abraham, emigrated when young to Illinois. Abraham Lincoln, before he was thirty, had been a boatman, a sailmaker, a shopkeeper, and a lawyer. Besides this, he had fought in the Black Hawk war, and had sat in the legislature of Illinois. In some respects he may be compared with Patrick Henry. Both were men of humble origin, rough and uncultivated in manner, and with little outward show of the qualities which ensure worldly success. In both, political conflict called forth powers of which their every-day life gave no promise. Both owed their success as speakers, not to culture or learning, but to the earnestness of their convictions and the native vigor of their minds. But Lincoln had none of that brilliancy of imagination and vivid strength of speech which made Henry the foremost orator among the statesmen of the Revolution. On the other hand, he far surpassed Henry in worldly wisdom, in self-control and patience, and in the art of availing himself of the weaknesses of others and making them the instruments of his own success. In 1846 Lincoln was elected representative of Illinois, and before long he became known as a rising statesman. He was proposed unsuccessfully as Vice-President in 1856, and in 1860 was brought forward as the Republican candidate for the Presidency. Though not a professed Abolitionist, he was more in harmony with the Abolition party than any of the other three candidates. From the outset of his public life, Lincoln had been careful not to pledge himself too strictly to any one party. In the matter of slavery he had been especially cautious. He clearly saw the difficulties which beset any scheme for freeing the negroes, but his sympathies were in a great measure with the Abolitionists. When in Congress, he had supported the Wilmot proviso, and had himself brought forward a Bill for gradually freeing the slaves in the District of Columbia. He had repeatedly denounced the evils of slavery, though, like many other wise men, he confessed himself unable to overcome the difficulties in the way of abolition. He and his supporters now declared that Congress ought to forbid the introduction of slavery into the Territories, and on this point lay the main issue between himself and his opponents. Thus he rallied round him all the anti-slavery feeling in the North, both that of the extreme Abolitionists and of those who were for opposing slavery by more moderate means.

In November, 1860, Lincoln was elected President. The Southern Democrats at once felt that their political ascendency was doomed. Many of them had declared before the election that the South would quit the Union if defeated. Ever since the days of Nullification, South Carolina had taken the lead among the Southern States. Nowhere was the passion for slavery so strong; nowhere did the Southern planters view the Northern merchants with so much hatred and contempt. Besides, the position of South Carolina

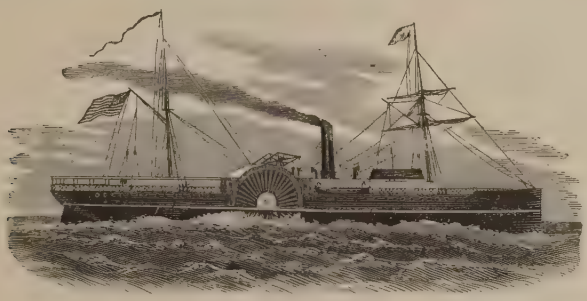
inclined her to take the lead in secession. She could not be reached from the North except through other slave-holding States—Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina. They would be at once compelled either to assist in subduing her or to join her; neutrality would be impossible, and the South Carolinians did not doubt which side their neighbors would take. On December the 17th, six weeks after Lincoln's election, a Convention of the State of South Carolina met at Charleston, and formally repealed their acceptance of the United States Constitution in 1788. The event was celebrated with public rejoicings; cannon were fired, and a procession was made to the grave of Calhoun. A South Carolina newspaper, by way of asserting the complete severance of the Union, published news from the other States under the head of "Foreign Intelligence."

In name and form the proceeding of South Carolina was a peaceful one. The Convention sent Commissioners to Washington to arrange the transfer of the forts, arms, and other property of the Federal government within the State of South Carolina. It was agreed by the commissioners and the government at Washington that, while those arrangements were being discussed, no hostile action should be taken on either side. In spite of this agreement, hostilities broke out. Major Anderson held Fort Moultrie, one of the smaller works in Charleston harbor, with a garrison of seventy men, for the Federal government. He asked for a reinforcement, but Floyd, the Secretary of War, refused it, on the ground that to grant it would enrage the secessionists. Anderson then spiked his guns, carried off his stores, and moved into Fort Sumter, a stronger work, also in Charleston harbor. This act was held by the South Carolinians and their supporters to be a breach of faith. Floyd recommended the withdrawal of the garrison, and, when this was not carried out, he resigned. The commissioners refused to carry on further negotiations till the garrison was withdrawn. Buchanan gave a hesitating answer, saying that the acknowledgment of the independence of South Carolina was a question for Congress, not for the President, and refusing either to approve of or condemn Anderson's proceedings. The commissioners answered this with an insolent letter, denouncing Anderson's conduct, and railing at Buchanan for not condemn-

SAND-BAG BATTERY AT FORT MOULTRIE.

ing him and withdrawing the garrison. Buchanan, with the approval of his cabinet, refused to consider the letter, and the commissioners went home. On January the 5th, the Federal Government at last took active measures. A steamer, the *Star of the West*, was sent to Fort Sumter with reinforcements and munitions. The State government of South Carolina was warned of this by a member of Buchanan's cabinet. They made preparations for the arrival of the ship and fired upon her. Being without cannon, she made no attempt to resist, and sailed home.

The state of the government at Washington favored the enterprise of the secessionists. The result of a Presidential election is known as soon as the electors are chosen in the various States. But the new President does not come into office for some months afterward. Thus, although Lincoln was practically elected in November 1860, he was not formally "inaugurated" till March 1861. Even with a strong government there is always

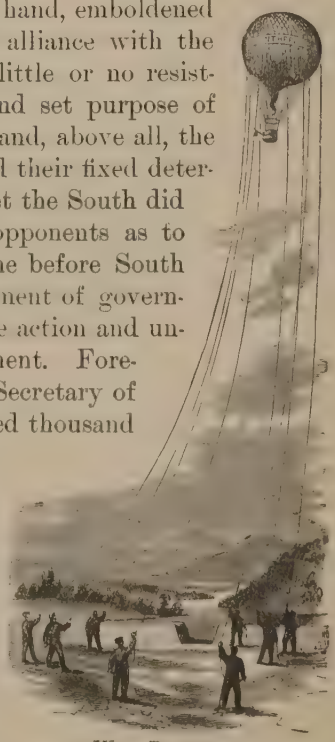


STAR OF THE WEST.

a danger that the party whose term of power is about to expire will be inattentive to the public welfare, and that its hands will be weakened by the certainty of its approaching end. Buchanan's government, always feeble, was utterly powerless at this crisis. Had a man like Andrew Jackson been in power, secession might have been crushed in its very outset. Buchanan only addressed a message to Congress which recognized the grievances of the South in the matter of slavery, but made no attempt to grapple with the difficulties of the case. In Congress, South Carolina found influential supporters. Jefferson Davis, of Mississippi, proposed in the Senate that any State should have the right to demand the withdrawal of all Federal troops from its territory. Mason, of Virginia, also proposed that the laws empowering the President to employ the army and navy for enforcing the laws in any State should be suspended in South Carolina. Sympathy with South Carolina soon showed itself even more strongly. Early in February, 1861, a Convention of six States, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Florida, was held at Montgomery in Alabama. A Federal

Constitution was drawn up for these six States, modeled on the Constitution of the United States. The main difference was that the President was chosen for six years, and could not be re-elected, and that some portion of his power of appointing government officials was transferred to the Senate. Jefferson Davis, a man of ability, was chosen President, and Alexander Stephens of Georgia Vice-President. The latter, upon his entry to office, made a remarkable speech, setting forth that slavery was to be the corner-stone of the new Confederacy, and that this was the first government which had recognized and acted upon the principle that the inferior races were intended by God and nature to be in bondage to the superior. The Middle States were invited to join the new Confederacy.

Neither side seem at the outset to have foreseen the results of secession. The Northerners had heard the threat of separation so often, that they had at last come to look upon it as no more than a threat, made to extort political concessions. The South, on the other hand, emboldened by Buchanan's weakness and trusting to their alliance with the northern Democrats, seem to have anticipated little or no resistance. They utterly underrated the iron will and set purpose of their new ruler, the growing hatred to slavery, and, above all, the passionate love of the North for the Union, and their fixed determination not to suffer it to be broken up. Yet the South did not so far reckon on the forbearance of their opponents as to neglect preparations for defence. For some time before South Carolina seceded, the Southerners in the employment of government had been laying their plans to cripple the action and undermine the resources of the Federal Government. Foremost in this policy was Floyd of Virginia, the Secretary of War. He had transferred more than a hundred thousand muskets and rifles from Northern arsenals to the South. He had also placed a large portion of the army under the command of General Twiggs, who handed over his forces and stores, with more than a million of dollars from the national funds, to the secessionists. The same policy was adopted with the navy. Ships were sent off to distant stations, and many of those that remained were carried over by their commanders to the side of the South. Nothing can justify or palliate the conduct of men like Floyd. They deliberately used the opportunities which their official position gave them to destroy the power of the government which they served. Meanwhile Buchanan, paralyzed by the treachery of his cabinet, by the contempt



War Balloon.

with which all parties alike looked on him, and, it is said, by the fear of assassination, remained utterly helpless and inactive. Whatever might be the right policy, Buchanan's was certainly wrong. If the Southern States were to be kept within the Union, every step should have been at once taken to check the growth of their military power, and reclaim them either by persuasion or force. If the North was quietly to acquiesce in secession, measures should have been taken at once for a friendly and peaceful separation. Yet Buchanan's conduct was only that of a weak and irresolute man in a position far beyond his powers. Part of the evil, too, was due to the arrangement which leaves public affairs in the hands of a party after the nation has shown by the Presidential election that that party no longer enjoys its confidence or represents its views.

On March the 4th, 1861, Lincoln formally entered on office. In his opening address he spoke out clearly and unhesitatingly on the one great subject, the preservation of the Union. Secession, he said, meant rebellion, and to acknowledge the right of any State to secede was to destroy the central government and to introduce anarchy. The Constitution, he said, must be enforced throughout the United States—peacefully, if it might be, but, if needed, by force. On the subject of slavery, he announced that he had neither the wish nor the right to meddle with it where it already existed. By this he clearly separated himself from the thoroughgoing Abolitionists.

Inauguration of Lincoln.

The South soon took active measures for resistance. Volunteer forces were assembled at Charleston and at Pensacola in Florida. The force at Charleston was placed under the command of Beauregard, a Louisianian of French descent, who distinguished himself throughout the war by his activity and enterprise. He at once erected batteries at Fort Sumter. In March, commissioners from the new Confederacy came to Washington to demand an audience of the President. This was refused, and Seward, the Secretary of State, who at this time was the most influential member of the cabinet, told them that he could not recognize them as holding any official position. They answered that the refusal of an audience was practically a declaration of war, and that they received it as such. This was immediately followed by an attack on Fort Sumter. The guns of the fort were ill-placed and its supplies insufficient. After three days' resistance, Anderson surrendered, without the loss of a single life on either side.

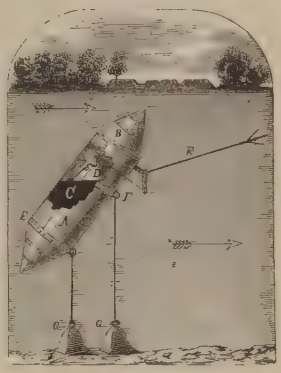
The fall of Fort Sumter was the signal for action on the part of the North. Lincoln issued a proclamation declaring that the seceding States were obstructing the execution of the laws; that the ordinary forms of procedure were insufficient for the occasion, and that he had called out the militia to suppress the unlawful combinations existing in the South. Troops

FORT SUMTER.

were brought down from the North for the defence of Washington. The feeling of the Marylanders was shown by the conduct of a mob, who attacked the soldiers during their passage through Baltimore and killed some of them. The establishment of these troops at Washington cut off Maryland from the other Southern States, and withheld her from following her natural bent, and joining the new Confederacy. The proclamation calling out the militia was quickly followed by another, declaring the Southern ports to be in a state of blockade. This was in one way a mistake on the part of the Federal Government. By a rule of International Law, a government cannot blockade its own ports, but only those of a foreign enemy. Thus the blockade was an admission by the North of the point for which the South contended, namely, that it was entitled to be treated as a separate and independent power.

So far it was uncertain what line of policy Virginia would adopt. Clearly she could not remain neutral. By refusing to help the Federal Government she would practically make herself a party to secession. Her interests and her sympathies seemed to draw her both ways. She was a slaveholding State, and so far her interests lay with the South. But she had never thrown herself into the cause of slavery with the same passionate earnestness as South Carolina, nor had she ever shown the same bitter enmity to the North. Her commercial interests too were not wholly the

same as those of the South. A large portion of her resources was derived from the breeding and rearing of negro slaves; and the re-opening of the African slave-trade, as advocated by the South, would have been a heavy blow to her prosperity. Moreover, the native State of Washington and Jefferson and Madison could not but be loath to quit that Union in whose creation she had so large a share. Still she had ever clung to the doctrine of State rights. That view now prevailed, and the State Convention decided, albeit against the wishes of a large minority, to join the Southern Confederacy. Even if we blame South Carolina, or the Southern States generally, for Virginia we can feel nothing but pity. On no State did the burden of the war fall so heavily. Yet she was not responsible for secession itself, and only in part for those events which led to it. Compelled to choose a side in a war which she had not kindled, she reluctantly took that towards which her natural sympathies inclined her, and which her political training taught her to believe was in the right. The example of Virginia was soon followed by Texas, Arkansas, North Carolina, and Tennessee. In July the seat of the new government was fixed at Richmond. The members of the new Confederacy were known as Confederates; the inhabitants of the Northern States who held by the old Constitution, as Federals. There is no special meaning in the distinction. It arose from the fact that Federal had always been the name for central institutions, as distinguished from those belonging to the different States, and that the party who had opposed the extreme doctrine of State rights in the early days of the Constitution were called Federalists.



A Torpedo.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE WAR OF SECESSION.

IT may be well, before going further, to give some idea of the means and prospects with which each party entered on the war. As far as mere military resources went, there was no very wide difference. The advantage which the Federal Government ought to have enjoyed from the possession of the national arsenals and stores was in a great measure lost, owing to the treachery of those Southerners who had held public offices. Neither side was at first well off for skilled officers. On the other hand, both in the North and South the absence of aristocratic exclusiveness allowed the best men to come quickly to the front.

DURYEA'S ZOUAVES.

Thus the armies on both sides were soon led by men of ability, while there was a great want of soldierly skill and knowledge among the subalterns. In many ways the South furnished better raw material for soldiers than the North. The Southern planters were more given to outdoor pursuits, to

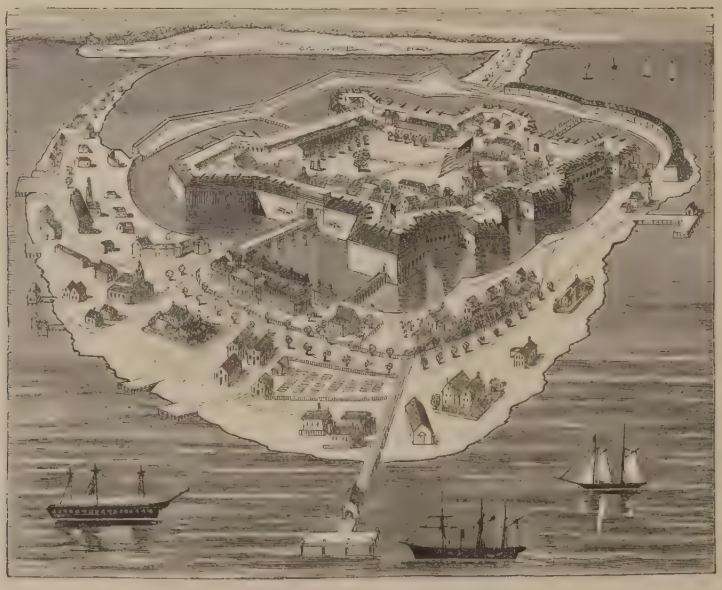
'Departure for the War'

field sports and the like, than the town-bred merchants of the North. Good horses and skilful riders were plentiful, and the cavalry of the South was one of its most efficient supports. Above all, the South was united. It is sometimes said that secession was not the unanimous act of the South, and that a large majority was either beguiled or coerced into a movement which they condemned. But throughout the war, no such division of feeling showed itself, save in Virginia. There was no such unanimity in the North, at least at the outset of the war. Many actually sympathized with the South, and thought the attempt to detain her unjust; many were indifferent. Jobbery and dishonesty of every kind were rife in the government offices. As the war went on, all this was greatly lessened, and there grew up in the North a resolute determination to preserve the Union at any cost. But, from the very outset of the war, there were three great points of superiority which in the long run turned the scale in favor of the North. Her free population was far more numerous, and could bear the strain of a destructive war, while her opponent was becoming exhausted. The South too had no manufactures of her own. She had learned to depend entirely on Northern productions, and the loss of them struck a heavy blow at her resources. Lastly, the North had command of the sea. A navy cannot, like an army, be created at a few months' notice, and the vast superiority of the North in wealth, in harbors, and in materials for shipbuilding, gave her in this matter an immense advantage. It enabled the North to recruit her armies with supplies of emigrants drawn from Europe, while the South, with her whole coast blockaded, could not fill the gaps which every campaign made in her population.

Recruiters at the Battery in New York.

Owing to the feeble policy of Buchanan's government, the Confederates were allowed to possess themselves of every national fort and dockyard south of the Chesapeake Bay, save Fort Sumter, and Forts Key West and Pickens off the coast of Florida. The secession of Virginia led to further enterprises of the same kind. The arsenal at Harper's Ferry was seized, but the officers in charge had destroyed the greater part of the stores before evacuating the place. The two most important Federal possessions within

Virginia were Fortress Monroe, and the Navy-yard at Norfolk. The latter contained two thousand cannon, a quarter of a million pounds of powder, large quantities of shot and shell, and twelve ships of war. A force of about five hundred militia, with ten small field-pieces, threatened the place. Captain M'Cauley, the officer in charge, although he had a force of a thousand men, did not attempt to resist, but scuttled the ships, made an ineffectual attempt to sink the guns, and abandoned the place, leaving the works and a large quantity of stores to fall into the hands of the Confederates. An inquiry was ordered by Congress, and a committee of the Senate decided that



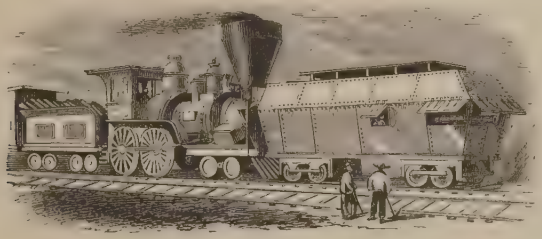
FORTRESS MONROE.

both Buchanan's and Lincoln's administrations were to blame for neglecting the proper defence of the place, and that Captain M'Cauley was highly censurable for not attempting to hold it. Fortress Monroe was a work of great size and strength commanding the Chesapeake Bay and James River. It was thought that the Virginians might by a prompt attack have seized it, and have dealt the Federal Government a heavier blow than it had yet sustained. But the opportunity was allowed to pass, and in May the place was garrisoned with twelve thousand men.

Early in 1861 rumors were afloat that the secessionists meant to seize the seat of government. This danger was greatly increased by the secession of Virginia. Troops, however, were hurried down from the North in sufficient numbers to guard against any surprise. When the war openly broke

out, it was clear that Washington, separated as it was from Virginia only by the Potomac, was one of the most vulnerable points in the Northern territory. Accordingly, the defence of the capital became the first object with the Federal Government. Earthworks were thrown up in the neighboring heights, and troops were posted across the Potomac to cover the city.

Before entering on the detailed history of the war, it will be well to get a general idea of the military position of both parties, and of their main objects. The object of the South was, of course, merely defensive. Her territory may be looked on as a vast fortress bounded by the Potomac, the Ohio, the Mississippi, and the Atlantic. Her armies did indeed, more than once, penetrate into the Northern territory. But such measures were merely like the sorties of a besieged garrison, intended to draw off or weaken the assailants, and had no permanent occupation or conquest in view. Four main lines of attack lay open to the Federals:—1. An invasion of Virginia from the north. 2. An invasion of Tennessee to the south-west of the Alleghanies.



Railway Battery.

3. An attack from the sea-coast. 4. An invasion from the south-west, after they had obtained the control of the Mississippi. As the war showed, the real points on which the military strength of the Confederacy turned were the possession of the Mississippi and of those lines of railway which connected the south-western States with the coast. By mastering the Mississippi, the Federals would cut off their enemies from the rich States to the west of the river, besides interfering with the communication between the west and the sea. Possession of the Mississippi might be obtained either from the sea, or by following its course down from the north, or by a combined attack in both directions. By bearing in mind these general features of the war, operations spreading over many thousand miles and seemingly unconnected, are at once seen to form part of one distinct scheme of attack and defence. One very interesting feature of the war in a military point of view is that it was the first in which railways had ever played an important part. The effect of this was to lessen the advantage of superior numbers, as a small body of troops, dexterously handled, might be rapidly moved from point to point, and used

successively against different portions of the enemy's force. This was of especial value to an army acting in its own country against invaders.

In July, the Northern and Southern armies confronted one another on the south side of the Potomac. The Southern army numbered about thirty thousand men, under Beauregard. The Northerners mustered forty thousand, under McDowell. His troops were ill-drilled and unsoldierly, and his officers inexperienced, but, as many of his men were enlisted only for three months, it was needful to do something at once, and accordingly he advanced. Both armies were in two divisions, the main force to the east, while two bodies of about eight thousand each, the Federals under Patterson, the Confederates under Johnston, faced each other about fifty miles further west. The two divisions of the Confederates enjoyed the great advantage of being connected by a line of railway. McDowell's plan was that Patterson should keep Johnston in check, while he himself attacked Beauregard. But this plan was thwarted by a difficulty which we have met with before. The Pennsylvania volunteers under Patterson refused to serve for a day longer than their engagement bound them. Patterson was obliged to withdraw, leaving McDowell to cope single-handed with Johnston and Beauregard. Johnston at once hurried, with all the troops he could bring up, to the assistance of the main body. On the morning of July the 21st, McDowell fell upon the right of the Confederate line, and drove them back. The Federal advance was stopped only by the Virginia troops under General Jackson. "There's Jackson standing like a stone wall," cried the Southern General Bee, to encourage his men, and "Stonewall Jackson" was the name by which the Virginia commander was ever after known. This check on the Federal right was soon turned into a repulse along the whole line. At the very crisis of the battle, the remainder of Johnston's force came up from the west, fell upon the Federal right, and rendered the victory complete. With undisciplined troops, however brave they may be, a defeat is almost sure to become a rout, and the Federals fled from the field a panic-stricken mob, without a semblance of order or discipline. From a military point of view the result was of no great importance. The Federal loss was not more than three thousand in all, and their enemies gained no advantage of position. The real value of victory to the South was the confidence and enthusiasm which was called out by so complete a triumph at the very outset of the war. But probably the hopeful and exulting spirit which the battle kindled in the South was equaled, if not outweighed, by its effect on the Nor-

STONEWALL JACKSON.

therners. Their defeat did not so much dishearten as sober them. Hitherto they had been possessed by a spirit of idle and vain-glorious confidence. They had fancied that secession could be crushed in two or three months. Now they saw that a great war was before them, which would tax their energies and their resources to the utmost. They learned that success could be bought only at a heavy price, and they soon showed that they were not unwilling to pay it.

It will be impossible in the history of the war to take in all the events in strict order of time. If we did so, we should be constantly shifting our view from one scene of operations to another, and be unable to get any connected idea of each. Many different sets of operations were going on together, which can only be kept clear and distinct by tracing out one for a considerable time, and then going back to another. We must now go back to events earlier than Bull Run. Virginia, as we have seen, was not unanimous in its resolution to secede. The wish to remain in the Union prevailed in the western part of the State beyond the Alleghanies. The inhabitants of this district wished to form themselves into a separate State, and to cleave to the Union. A convention met, which carried out the wishes of the inhabitants by establishing a separate government. This was regarded by the other Virginians as treachery to the State, which had a higher claim on their loyalty than the Union. Accordingly it became of importance both to the Federals and to the Confederates to secure this district. General McClellan advanced towards West Virginia with a considerable force. The defending force, numbering about eight thousand, was stationed at Rich Mountain, on the western slope of the Alleghanies. When McClellan approached, they attempted to retreat, but were forced to give battle, and were completely defeated. Later in the year a Confederate force under Lee attempted to dislodge the Federals, but without success. It was not, however, till two years later that West Virginia was admitted into the Union as a separate State.

GEN. MCCLELLAN.

During the summer and autumn of 1861 important operations went forward in the west. The States of Missouri and Kentucky were, from their position, of great importance in the war. They commanded the Upper Mississippi and the southwest portion of the seceding States. Accordingly, it was an object with each party to secure them. Both States would have wished to remain neutral, if they could have done so, but, as with

Virginia, this was impossible. In each the sympathies of the inhabitants were about equally balanced. As Kentucky would not join the Southern Confederacy, in September General Polk, a Louisianian bishop who had turned soldier, invaded and took possession of it. In Missouri, a long and severe struggle between the two parties within the State was settled by the Federals occupying it with an army. In both Kentucky and Missouri there was some fighting during the autumn of 1861, which resulted somewhat in favor of the Confederates, but nothing decisive was done. In the autumn of 1861, the Federal Government created a separate military province, called the Western Department, with its centre at St. Louis on the Mississippi. This was placed under the command of General Halleck. His part in the war was a very important one. His understanding of military geography and his judgment as to the general course of operations were probably equal to that of any man in either army. He saw that the true policy of the Federals was to advance up the Tennessee and the Cumberland, a river which runs for the most part parallel to it, and so to penetrate into the south-western States, and to master the upper valley of the Mississippi. To carry out this it was necessary to take Fort Henry on the Tennessee, and Fort Donelson on the Cumberland. Accordingly, at the beginning of 1862, General Grant with seventeen thousand men was sent against Fort Henry. It was evident that the place could not be held, but the Confederate general in command made a determined resistance, and enabled the main body of his troops to escape to Fort Donelson. The Federal gunboats then attacked Fort Donelson, but were beaten off. The Confederates, however, finding themselves outnumbered by the besieging force, attempted to cut their way through, but were driven back, mainly through the resolution of Grant and his subordinate Smith. Part of the garrison escaped during the night and the rest surrendered. By this victory the Federals gained about ten thousand prisoners, twenty thousand small-arms, and sixty-five guns, with a loss of little more that two thousand men. It also gave them possession of Kentucky, and of a large part of Tennessee. Moreover, the Confederate line of defence was driven back some fifty miles, and Nashville, a large and important town, and Columbus, a fortress which commanded the upper waters of the Mississippi, were abandoned to the Federals. This was soon followed up by further successes. The Confederates held New Madrid on the right bank of the Mississippi, and No. 10 Island just opposite. General Pope

General Halleck.

was sent from St. Louis to attack them. Batteries were erected against New Madrid, whereupon the garrison fled, leaving large quantities of arms and ammunition. No. 10 Island was then bombarded from the river, but to no purpose. Pope could not attack it, as it could only be reached from the left bank, and he could not bring up boats to carry his troops across, owing to the Confederate batteries which commanded the river. This difficulty was at length overcome by cutting a canal twelve miles long across a horse-shoe formed by the river. By this means transports were brought down the river. Pope crossed, and the island surrendered, with nearly seven thousand men and large supplies. Following up this success, the Federals in two engagements defeated the Confederate fleet of gunboats and obtained possession of the Upper Mississippi as far as the frontier of Tennessee.

In spite of these disasters, the Confederate forces in the west proceeded to act on the offensive. The position of the two armies was not altogether unlike that at Bull Run. Each was in two divisions, the main bodies facing

Federal Gunboats.

each other under Grant and Beauregard, the smaller division also facing each other under Buell and Sydney Johnston. This Johnston must not be confounded with the other Confederate general of that name, Joseph Johnston, the hero of Bull Run. As at Bull Run, the Southern armies had the advantage of railway communication. Their commanders resolved to unite, and to deal with Grant before Buell could join him. This scheme was successful, and the whole Confederate army under Johnston marched against Grant. The numbers were about equal, forty thousand on each side. Early on the morning of April the 6th the Confederates attacked. Many of the Federal troops were taken completely by surprise, and fell back in confusion. A second Bull Run seemed to be at hand, with this addition, that the Federals had a river immediately at their back, and were thus cut off from retreat. Such a misfortune was warded off by the determination with which General Sherman held his ground, and by the death of Johnston. Struck by a bullet, in the eagerness of victory

he disregarded the wound, and only learned its severity when he found himself fast bleeding to death. Had he lived, he would probably have followed up his success, and crushed Grant's demoralized army before Buell could come up. The delay saved the Federals. Grant was joined by Buell with twenty thousand men, and, with that dogged courage which distinguished him throughout the war, he returned next day to the attack. His troops, by rallying so readily and so successfully, showed that the panic of the day before was due to want of discipline, and not to cowardice. In the second engagement the Confederates were worsted, and withdrew in good order; their total loss in the two days was about eleven thousand, that of the Federals some three thousand more. Throughout these two days' engagements, called the Battle of Shiloh, there was little room for skilful tactics. It has been described as a gigantic bush-fight. From the nature of the ground, neither commander could get any comprehensive idea of the state of affairs, or even attempt to exercise control over more than a part of his army. Soon after this, the Confederate Government, considering its forces unequal to the task of holding Missouri and Arkansas, abandoned those States to the enemy. The troops withdrawn thence were concentrated under Beauregard at Corinth. Shortly after, the Federals took Memphis on the Mississippi, a town of considerable commercial importance, and valuable as a centre of railway communication.

General Sherman.

On the Lower Mississippi the Federals had achieved even more brilliant and valuable successes. In no department was the North weaker at the outset than in its navy, and in none were so much energy and determination shown in rapidly making up for shortcomings. At the beginning of 1861 there were only four ships fit for duty in harbors held by the Federal Government. All the rest of the national navy was either seized by the Confederates or was at foreign stations. Yet, by the end of the year, the blockade had been so successfully maintained, that a hundred and fifty vessels had been captured in the attempt to break through. Moreover, the Federals had taken Port Royal, a fortress on the coast between Charleston and Savannah, and of importance for the defence of those two places. This was followed by an unsuccessful endeavor to block up Charleston harbor by sinking ships, filled with stone, across its mouth. This attempt to destroy forever a valuable harbor, of great importance to Southern com-

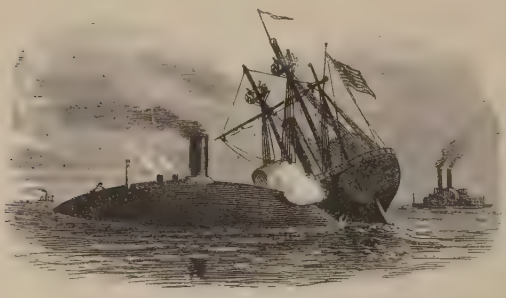
merce, was not much to the credit of the Federal Government. The next important naval attempt was of a far more glorious character. This was the capture of New Orleans by Admiral Farragut, whereby the Southern States were cut off from the lower waters of the Mississippi. Considering the great importance of the place, the Confederate Government do not seem to have done enough for its defence. In April, 1862, the Federal fleet entered the mouth of the river, and for six days and nights bombarded the fortification which guarded the entrance. On the morning of the 24th, before daybreak, the Federals fought their way up the river, past the

The Levee at New Orleans.

forts, and through the gunboats of the enemy. The Confederate flotilla was completely destroyed, while the assailants only lost one vessel. General Lovell, the commander at New Orleans, considering that it would be impossible to hold the city, withdrew his troops. Farragut took possession of the place, and was joined by General Butler with a land force, which had been at hand, though it had taken no part in the attack. The city was then placed under the military government of Butler. He kept order, and the inhabitants do not seem to have suffered much under his rule. But his overbearing manner, his summary and, as it was considered, illegal execution of a citizen who had cut down the United States flag, and the brutal language of his public documents, earned for him, alone among all the Federal commanders, the universal hatred of the South.

Vicksburg was now the one Confederate stronghold on the Mississippi. It stands on a horseshoe of land and commands the river in both directions. Moreover it is protected on the north-west by the Yazoo, a river which flows into the Mississippi above the town, and it is also surrounded by swamps and forest. On June the 24th the Federal fleets from New Orleans and St. Louis united. The same manœuvre was tried here which had succeeded at New Madrid. A canal was cut across the horseshoe, and thus the Federal fleet was enabled to command the whole river without passing

the batteries of the town. The siege was marked by a most brilliant exploit on the part of a small Confederate ram, the *Arkansas*. She steamed out of the mouth of the Yazoo, fought her way through the Federal fleet of fifteen vessels, doing much damage to them, and anchored safely under the guns of Vicksburg. In July, after months of continuous bombardment, the Federals abandoned the attack.



RAM MANASSES.

One feature in the naval history of the war deserves notice, since it ushered in a change of the greatest importance in naval warfare. This was the use of iron-clad vessels. The first of these that appeared in the war was a somewhat roughly-built ram with iron plating, called the *Manasses*, devised by a Confederate officer, Commodore Hollins. She fell upon the Federal squadron which was blockading the mouth of the Mississippi, dashed into the midst of it, and put it to flight. Soon afterwards it became known that the Confederates were preparing a large iron-clad. This was the *Merrimac*, a steamer which had belonged to the Federal Government, and had been captured in Norfolk Navy-yard. The Federals set to work to build an iron-clad turret-ship, called the *Monitor*, to match her. Each worked hard to be the first in the field. In this the Confederates succeeded. On March the 8th, 1862, the *Merrimac* appeared in the mouth of the James River, and immediately destroyed two Federal vessels. She attacked a third, but, before she could complete its destruction, the *Monitor*, just launched, came to the rescue. She stood the shock of the *Merrimac*, which had been fatal to the wooden ships, and at last beat her off with much damage. This fight was the first fair trial of iron-clad ships.

The Southern Confederacy at the outset confidently expected help from foreign powers. But in this it was disappointed. The European nations all stood neutral. The British government excited the anger of the North by recognizing the South as belligerents. In the winter of 1861 an event occurred which threatened to embroil the Federal Government with Great Britain. The Confederate Government sent two agents, Messrs. Slidell and Mason, to England. They ran the blockade, and then sailed in an English steamer, the *Trent*, from Havana. Captain Wilkes, in the Federal warship *San Jacinto*, intercepted the *Trent*, ordered her to heave to, and when she refused, fired upon her. He then sent a party on board, and carried off

the agents to New York. This act was, in kind, not unlike those which had driven the Americans into the war of 1812, though it was a far more distinct and glaring breach of the law of nations. The British government at once demanded the liberation of the Southern agents, giving the Federal Government seven days to consider the matter. President Lincoln and Mr. Seward, the Secretary of State, saw that the act could not be justified, and the agents were released.

We must now go back somewhat in time to trace the operations on the Virginia frontier since Bull Run A vast Federal force, called the Army of the Potomac, was being concentrated near Washington under General McClellan. In his hands it was gradually changed from a mere horde of undisciplined recruits into a well-drilled and well-appointed army. By

The New Ironsides and Monitors.

February, 1862, this force had grown to about two hundred thousand. The autumn and winter of 1861 had passed, and nothing was done. For this inactivity McClellan was greatly blamed. He was a Democrat, and it was thought that his political sympathies withheld him from inflicting a crushing blow on the South. It must be said in his defence that, before he could fight, he had to create a serviceable army. The President, too, interfered with his arrangements by detaching troops under separate commands, and thwarted his wishes by sacrificing every other military object to the defence of Washington. In April, 1862, McClellan set out against Richmond with more than one hundred thousand men. He first marched into the peninsula between the Rappahannock and the James River. His first proceeding was to lay siege to Yorktown, a place garrisoned by eight thousand men under General Magruder. Elaborate preparations were made for opening fire, but, before they were completed, Magruder had withdrawn. An attempt was made to pursue Magruder, but his rear-guard checked the Federals at Wil-

liamsburg, and inflicted on them considerable loss. After this, McClellan advanced slowly on Richmond, while the Confederates retired before him. At this time the Federal army suffered severely from sickness. On May the 31st, the Confederates turned upon their pursuers at Fair Oaks, and, though overpowered by superior numbers, dealt them a serious blow. Soon after, Stuart, a Confederate general of cavalry, performed an exploit which deserves special mention. With one thousand five hundred horsemen he rode right round the Federal army, doing great damage, and for a while cutting off McClellan's communications with the rear. In the meantime operations were going on further to the west, which had an important influence on McClellan's movements. The Shenandoah River runs north-west, and joins the Potomac about fifty miles above Washington. Here Jackson had been fighting with extraordinary success against a Federal force far larger than his own. By falling on the different divisions of the enemy in succession, he had inflicted on them three severe defeats, and, by seriously alarming the Federal government as to the safety of Washington, he had drawn off large forces which would otherwise have joined McClellan. He then by forced marches withdrew from the Shenandoah valley, and he had joined the Confederate army near Richmond before the enemy knew of his departure. That army was now under the command of General Lee. Lee was a Virginian of an old family, several of whose members had distinguished themselves in the Revolutionary war. Like many other Virginians, he had reluctantly joined the secessionists in obedience to the commands of his State. It would have been hard to find a general more peculiarly fitted for the command of the Southern forces. An army far inferior to the enemy in number and resources specially needs the encouragement of personal loyalty and love for their commander, and no general ever called out those feelings more fully or more deservedly than Lee. Moreover his dashing and enterprising system of warfare was exactly suited to troops of great natural courage, who required to be buoyed up in a seemingly hopeless task by the prospect of brilliant success. Late in June, Lee advanced against McClellan and defeated him. In order to effect this, Lee had to leave Richmond in a great measure unguarded. McClellan did not avail himself of this by advancing, as he feared that he might be cut off from his supplies. He soon

HOSPITAL AT FAIR OAKS.

abandoned all hope of an attack on Richmond, and withdrew his army. An attempt to harass his retreat was repulsed with severe loss, and he retired to a secure position on the James River. Considering how much time had been spent in organizing his army, and remembering that no cost had been spared in making all needful preparations for the campaign, it is impossible to acquit McClellan of the charges brought against him of over-caution and want of decision. His troops were indeed raw, but not more so than those with which Grant and Lee had successfully carried out a far bolder policy, while McClellan was far better furnished with supplies of every kind than those commanders. This much praise however must be given to him, that he never placed his troops in a position where a defeat would be fatal, that he conducted his retreat without suffering his army to become demoralized, and that the discipline which he introduced did much towards training the Northern armies for their later victories.

In June, 1862, the three armies which had been opposed to Jackson were placed under the command of Pope, fresh from his successes in the west. He issued a boastful address, contrasting the success of the western army with the failure in Virginia, and sneering at McClellan's inaction. As might be supposed, after such a beginning, there was no cordial co-operation between the armies. In August, Pope advanced to the Rapidan River. Before marching he issued orders that his army was to live on the enemy's country, that if any Federal soldier was fired at from a house it was to be pulled down, and that Southern citizens refusing to give security for good conduct were to be sent south, and, if they returned, to be treated as spies. In this, Pope contrasted unfavorably with McClellan, who had done his best during his march through Virginia to save the country from the horrors of war. Pope's conduct excited great indignation in the South, and the Confederate Government issued orders that Pope and his commissioned officers should, if captured, be treated as common prisoners, not as prisoners of war. On August the 9th, Pope encountered a detachment of Lee's army under Jackson. The Federals were defeated in two battles, the first at Cedar Mountain, the other, somewhat later, at Gainsville, near the field of Bull Run. Early in September, Pope was driven back into the works of Washington, having lost thirty thousand men. He laid the blame of these defeats on McClellan, who, he said, had withheld from him the support

Mules carrying Wounded Men.

which he needed, and to which he was entitled. Pope, however, was superseded, and McClellan was placed in command of the whole army.

By the defeat at Shiloh and the earlier Federal successes, the Confederate line was a second time driven back. Halleck advanced with great caution and deliberation towards Corinth, but before he could reach the place Beauregard had secretly withdrawn his forces. For this he was severely, though it would seem unjustly, blamed in the South, and was superseded by General Bragg. Soon after, Halleck was called off to undertake the defence of Washington, now threatened by the Confederate successes in Virginia. This left Grant in command of the western army. A large portion of his forces was sent off under Buell to attack Chattanooga. This place is on the west

Soldiers on the March.

frontier of Georgia, on the Tennessee River, and was of great importance as a centre of railway communication for the south-west. The Confederates now set to work resolutely to repair their losses in the west. Fresh troops were raised. Not only was Bragg thus largely reinforced, but his position was a much stronger one than that which the Confederates had before held. The country through which the right of the Federal line now had to advance was swampy and difficult to march through. Accordingly, while the main body of the Confederates faced Buell, two smaller forces under Generals Van Dorn and Price were left to deal with Grant. Their first attempt was to dislodge the Federal force, twenty thousand strong, under General Rosecrans, from Corinth. But, though the Confederates were superior in num-

bers, they were defeated with heavy loss. Grant would have followed up this success by an advance on Vicksburg, but was withheld by a brilliant and successful attack made by Van Dorn on the Federal quarters at Holly Springs. By this the Federals lost supplies to the value of two million dollars. Soon after this, the Federal general Sherman was defeated at Chickasaw, while attempting to penetrate through the country between the Yazoo River and Vicksburg.

In the autumn of 1862 the war assumed a new character. Hitherto the Confederates had stood entirely on the defensive. Now they ventured to invade their enemy's territory, both in the west and near the coast. As we have seen, Bragg was set free with a strong army to act against Buell in Kentucky. His plan was to invade that State, both for the sake of the supplies which it contained and with the view of diverting the Federal forces from their operations on the Mississippi. Hopes too were entertained that Kentucky might be induced by this pressure to join the Southern Confederacy. Serious operations were preceded by some dashing raids of irregular cavalry under Morgan and Forrest, two Southern officers who specially distinguished themselves in such warfare. Bragg's invading army numbered fifty thousand. Buell's force against him was raised by detachments from Grant's army and other reinforcements to a hundred thousand. Thus outnumbered, Bragg withdrew, after a single battle at Perryville, in which the loss on each side was about equal. But for the large supplies which he carried off, this invasion would have been a complete failure. The Federal Government, considering that Buell had not followed up his success as he might have done, transferred the command to Rosecrans. Bragg again advanced, and was met by Rosecrans at Murfreesboro. On December the 31st a fierce battle followed, in which the Federals were defeated. Bragg, nevertheless, retreated, and thus ended the Confederate attempt to carry the war into the enemy's territory in the west.

Removing Obstructions from the Mississippi.

Meanwhile Lee had been carrying out a yet bolder policy, with better, though not with complete success. On September the 5th, 1862, he crossed

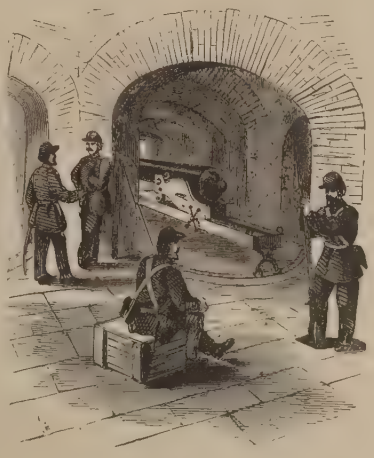
the Potomac. The conduct of his army contrasted favorably with that of Pope's. Nevertheless the Confederates were disappointed in the hope of support from the Marylanders. That had been one of the main objects of the invasion. But the sight of the ill-supplied, ill-clad, often unshod, soldiers from the South, was not encouraging. Lee's order for the campaign accidentally fell into McClellan's hands. Thus instructed, McClellan followed the line of Lee's march. Pressed as he was by superior numbers, Lee daringly detached twenty-five thousand men, under Jackson, to cross the Potomac and attack Harper's Ferry. The place was garrisoned by fourteen thousand men, of whom the cavalry, twenty-five hundred in number, cut their way out. The rest surrendered, and the place, with large stores, fell into the hands of the Confederates. Jackson at once hurried back and joined Lee, who had been brought to bay by his pursuers at Antietam. There a battle was fought with a loss of about thirteen thousand on each side. Lee then withdrew across the Potomac. McClellan might, it was thought, by a vigorous advance, have crushed the Confederate army before it could reach the river. But it must be said in his defence, that on his army rested the last hopes of the Federals in the east, and that defeat might have involved the capture of Washington. Soon after, however, McClellan was superseded by Burnside. He crossed the Potomac at Fredericsburg, on the Rappahannock. There he gave battle, but was defeated with a loss of nearly fourteen thousand men, against about five thousand on the Confederate side. After this defeat the Federals withdrew to the Potomac.

FREDERICKSBURG AFTER THE BATTLE.

From the beginning of the war, a number of Acts had been passed by Congress with reference to the Southern slaves. As early as August, 1861, it had been enacted that all slaves used by the Confederates for military purposes, such as constructing batteries, intrenching, and the like, should be free. Another Act forbade the surrender of slaves who should take refuge within the Federal lines. Laws were also passed, carrying out two measures which the anti-slavery party had always advocated, namely, the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, and the prohibition of it

SIGNING THE EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION.

in the Territories. In July, 1862, two Acts of great importance were passed. One ordered that all slaves escaping from, or taken from, Southern masters should be free. This was passed, after considerable opposition. The other provided for the enlistment of negroes as soldiers. Such negroes were to obtain, not only their own freedom, but that of their wives, mothers, and children. This went further in the direction of emancipation, and of the equality of the races, than any previous measure. So far the President had taken no decided line on the subject of slavery, but had remained firm to the principle which he had laid down, that he had no power to meddle with slavery where it already existed. The war, however, greatly altered the state of affairs. It might fairly be urged that the seceding States had forfeited their constitutional rights. There was too the yet stronger plea of necessity. There were obvious motives for emancipation. It might serve to convert the war in the eyes of a large and influential class into a crusade against slavery, and to call out an enthusiasm which the mere cause of the Union could not kindle. Besides it would sap the resources of the South. The slave system set the whole white population free to fight, while the slaves produced all the needful supplies. Led by these motives, perhaps too in some measure by his personal antipathy to slavery, on January 1st, 1863, Lincoln issued a proclamation, declaring all the slaves in the seceding States free. Even though it were unconstitutional, the measure cut a knot which, perhaps, if this opportunity had passed, no statecraft could have untied. It was no small thing to put an end, by whatever means, and at whatever cost, to a system fraught with so much guilt and misery. But, while emancipation in some ways strengthened the hands of the North, it united the Southerners, and hardened them in their resistance. The abolition of slavery meant the utter overthrow of all their accustomed modes of life. The war was no longer for political independence; it became almost a struggle for existence.



A Casemate.

Hooker was now placed in command of the Army of the Potomac. In April he advanced with a hundred and twenty-five thousand men, more than twice the number of Lee's forces. On the 30th of April, Hooker issued an order to his men, in which he told them that the Confederate forces were "the legitimate property of the army of the Potomac." In

the face of this overwhelming force, Lee divided his army, and while he himself kept Hooker in check, he threw the other half under Jackson on the Federal right. Jackson's attack was successful, but the victory was purchased at a fearful price. He himself rode out to reconnoitre, and ventured far forward. When riding back, he and his staff were mistaken for Federal cavalry. The Confederates fired, and Jackson fell, mortally wounded by his own men. His death turned what might have been an utter defeat into a mere check. On the morrow the engagement became general, and, after two days' hard fighting, Hooker retreated towards the Potomac, having lost about eighteen thousand men, against ten thousand of the enemy. Terrible as the Federal loss was, it did not equal that which the Confederates had sustained in the death of Jackson. His promptness and rapidity of movement, and his power of striking with a speed and a certainty which made no second blow needful, have probably never been surpassed. His personal character too, like Lee's, begat in his soldiers a love and enthusiasm for their general which alone could carry them through the tasks that he set them. Only by movements like his could the smaller armies of the South make head against the overwhelming masses of their enemy, and it was no common good fortune that gave Lee a subordinate so peculiarly fitted to carry out plans, often daring even to rashness. The qualities which distinguished Jackson were not indeed wanting in other Confederate generals, and the later events of the war showed that he had no unworthy successor in Longstreet. But, though Longstreet might fitly succeed, he could not equal Jackson, and Lee hardly overstated the loss when he said that it would have been better for the South if he himself had fallen.

ROBERT E. LEE.

In May, Lee again marched northward. Rumors were prevalent of disaffection in the North, and it was thought that the appearance of a Confederate army might strengthen this feeling. At the outset of the campaign, Lee captured a Federal force of about four thousand men at Winchester. Soon afterward, another change was made in the command of the army of the Potomac, and Meade succeeded to that post in which Hooker, Burnside, and Pope had failed, and in which McClellan had achieved but a doubtful and checquered success. On June 3d, the Southern army crossed the Potomac. Soon after, Stuart, repeating his brilliant exploit of the previous year, led his cavalry right round the Federal army, and for a time cut off Wash-

ington from its defending force. Meade, like McClellan in the previous invasion, got information as to his enemy's doings from an intercepted letter sent by Davis to Lee. This told Meade that the South was utterly stripped of troops, that no reinforcements could be sent to Lee, and that Richmond was without defenders. He then posted his forces at Gettysburg, in a strong position, covering Washington and Baltimore. Lee attacked him on the 1st of July, and was defeated after three days' hard fighting, with the loss of more than thirty thousand men. The Federal loss was twenty-three thousand. Meade made no immediate attempt to follow up his victory, and the defeated Confederates retreated across the Potomac. Meade followed them, and the war was again transferred to Virginia. Lee now avoided an engagement, and Meade advanced to the Rappahannock.

Vicksburg was, as we have seen, the principal remaining stronghold of the Confederates on the Mississippi. It was garrisoned by a substantial force under General Pemberton. During the spring of 1863 repeated attempts were made upon Vicksburg by water, but without success. In May, Grant proceeded to surround the place. Johnston, who was in command of the Confederate armies in the south-west, tried to join Pemberton, but, before he could do so, Grant had thrown himself between the two armies. He then defeated Pemberton in two engagements, and drove him back into Vicksburg. Grant then assaulted the place three times, but in vain. Then, having brought up all the reinforcements he could to guard against an attack by Johnston, he invested Vicksburg. Pemberton held out for nearly seven weeks, but no assistance reached him, and on the 3d of July he surrendered. Next day, on the anniversary of Independence and the day after the Federal victory of Gettysburg, Grant took possession of the place, which gave the North command of the Mississippi.

GRANT'S HEAD-QUARTERS AT VICKSBURG.

In June, 1863, the Federal army in Tennessee under Rosecrans advanced upon Chattanooga. This place was the key to the Southern States on their western frontier, and the capture of it would lay the South open to invasion. The Confederate army under Bragg had been weakened in order to reinforce Johnston, and was now reduced to forty-six thousand, fourteen thousand less than the Federal force. Bragg made but little attempt to check Rosecrans' advance or to hold Chattanooga. On September the 8th, the town

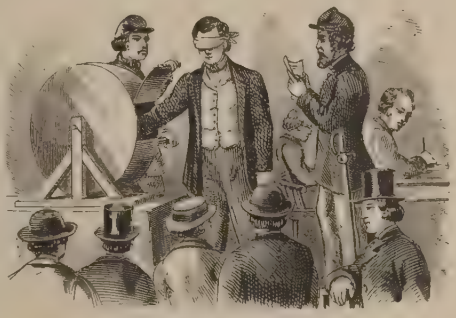
was abandoned, and the Federal army took possession of it. Bragg then rallied his troops at Lafayette. Fortunately for him, the Virginia army was able to spare him a detachment, and twelve thousand of Lee's best troops under Longstreet were hurried up to his assistance. Thus reinforced, Bragg gave battle at Chickamauga on September the 19th. The Federals were worsted, and their defeat would have been far more serious but for the firmness with which General Thomas stood his ground. Longstreet would have followed up his success, and would perhaps have converted defeat into destruction. But Bragg restrained him, and the Federals withdrew into Chattanooga. Their loss was about sixteen thousand; that of the Confederates about twelve thousand. Bragg then stationed his forces on the heights above the town. In consequence of this defeat, Rosecrans was superseded, and Thomas was appointed in his stead. The position of his army, with its communications harassed and interrupted, became one of serious danger. The Federal Government, fully alive to the importance of holding Chattanooga, took active measures for its relief. Grant was appointed commander-in-chief in the west, and was sent to take charge of the defence of Chattanooga in person, and twenty thousand men under Hooker were brought from Virginia. At the same time Sherman's force was hurried up from Iuka, two hundred miles off. On the other hand, Bragg had imprudently weakened his army by detaching Longstreet with fifteen thousand men to besiege Burnside in Knoxville, a hundred miles to the north-east of Chattanooga. In the battle which ensued Grant showed greater skill in combining the movements of large bodies of troops, and his subordinates showed greater power of carrying out such combinations harmoniously and successfully than had yet been seen in the war except in the Southern armies under Lee. On the 24th of November, Sherman fought his way across the Tennessee river on the north of the town, and Hooker took possession of Look-out Mountain, a height to the south. Thus the whole Federal force was brought into line on the east side of the river. Bragg's army now lay opposite, on a line of heights called Missionary Ridge, a strong

RIFLE PITS.

HAND-LITTER.

position, but too extensive to be properly held by the diminished forces of the Confederates. The battle opened with a fierce attack by Sherman on the Confederate right. This compelled Bragg to weaken his centre. Grant then attacked with his main body, and after a hard struggle the Confederates were driven down the heights. The loss on each side was about five thousand. The victory of Chattanooga saved Knoxville. Sherman's troops, though wearied by the battle and their previous marches, were at once hurried off to relieve Burnside. Longstreet, on hearing of Bragg's defeat, made one desperate and unsuccessful assault on Knoxville, and then withdrew into Virginia.

It was seen early in the war that the voluntary enthusiasm of the South was unequal to the support of so great a struggle. In the summer of 1862 an Act was passed by the Southern Government, making all male citizens between eighteen and thirty-five years of age liable for military service, with a special exemption in favor of certain professions. As the war went on, fresh Acts were passed, extending the age, till at length no male between eighteen and fifty-three was exempt. The North, rich and able to offer liberal bounties, did not feel the need for compulsion so soon, but it came at last. In February, 1864, an Act was passed, making all male citizens between eighteen and forty-five liable for military duty. Payment or provision of a substitute was allowed in place of personal service. These measures were differently received in the North and in the South. The Southerners were, as I have said, thoroughly united, and fired by an enthusiastic passion for their cause. Moreover, they felt that they were fighting to ward off invasion from their own homes. The population of the North had not the same direct and personal interest in the war. Accordingly the ballot for conscripts at New York led to disturbances, which seemed at one time likely to endanger the city. Troops, however, were brought up, the municipality raised a fund to enable poor persons to pay for substitutes, and tranquillity was restored. It is remarkable, as showing how little sympathy New York had with the anti-slavery feeling of New England, that the negroes were made the special object of attack by the rioters.



BALLOTING FOR CONSCRIPTS.

All this while the blockade of the Southern ports was successfully maintained. By this means the staple commodity of the South, cotton, was

rendered worthless. At the same time, fort after fort was taken along the Southern coast. The only two affairs of this kind which were important

ADMIRAL FARRAGUT AT MOBILE,

enough to need separate notice were the capture of Mobile by the Federals and their unsuccessful attempt upon Charleston. The attack on Charleston was undertaken rather for political than for military reasons. The place

had always been the object of peculiar hatred in the North, as being the hotbed of secession. From a military point of view, any advantage that its capture might give was probably equalled by the fact that it kept thirty thousand men idle within its defences. On April 7th, 1863, the Federal fleet of iron-clads entered the harbor and opened fire upon the works, but were utterly unable to stand against the guns of the forts. After an engagement lasting forty minutes the fleet retreated, and their commander, Admiral Dupont, declared that in another half-hour every vessel would have been sunk. The Federal force then confined itself to detached attacks on Fort Wagner and Fort Sumter. The former was evacuated, the latter was bombarded till it was a heap of ruins. Nevertheless, the possession of it enabled the defenders of the place to impede the entrance of the harbor by the use of torpedoes and the like. Accordingly an attempt was made to dislodge them by an assault, but without success. Further south the Federals fared better. In the summer of 1864 Farragut attacked Mobile. The harbor was strongly fortified, and was a frequent resort for blockade-runners. With fourteen wooden ships and four iron-clads, Farragut forced his way in, destroyed the Confederate fleet in the harbor, and reduced the forts. Throughout the war the commerce of the Northern States was greatly harassed by Confederate cruisers, some of them built in British dockyards. The most noteworthy of these was the *Alabama*, which was launched in July, 1862. During the next two years she captured sixty-five vessels, till she was at length destroyed by the Federal war-ship *Kearsarge*, near Cherbourg harbor.

U. S. Grant.

In the spring of 1864 Grant was appointed commander-in-chief of the whole Federal forces, under the title of Lieutenant-General, a distinction never conferred by the Federal Government on any one since Washington. He undertook, and successfully carried out, a more definite and continuous policy than had hitherto been attempted. Yet, in comparing him with those who had gone before him, we must not overlook several advantages which he enjoyed. The Southern Confederacy was fast becoming exhausted. Every campaign was draining it both of men and resources. The North, on the other hand, was becoming more united and more alive to the necessity of vigorous efforts. Grant too could learn by the failures of his predecessors, and he was at the head of armies whom those very failures had trained and disciplined. And, successful as Grant

was, it must never be forgotten that his success was won by a deliberate sacrifice of life on a fearful scale, a sacrifice from which perhaps his predecessors would have shrunk. Yet, with all these drawbacks, the clearness with which Grant saw what were the great leading movements needful for success, and the dogged courage and unwearied patience with which he strove for those ends, must ever give him a high place among great commanders. His policy was to abandon all minor movements, to concentrate the whole force of the Federal arms on two great lines of attack, and to penetrate the Southern States from the southwest and from the north. The superior resources of the North would, he knew, enable him to wear down the South by sheer hard fighting. He would be able to bring fresh soldiers into the field when the Southern armies were annihilated and there were none to fill their place.

One part of this scheme, the invasion of the west, was entrusted to the ablest of Grant's subordinates, Sherman, to whose support, as Grant ever frankly acknowledged, his earlier successes in the west were in a great measure due. Sherman's first point of attack was Atlanta in Georgia, an important centre of railway communication. It was about a hundred miles from Chattanooga, Sherman's point of departure. He set out early in May. His line of march lay along a railway which kept up his communication with Chattanooga. His army numbered nearly a hundred thousand. The Confederate force opposed to him, under Johnston, was barely half that number. Johnston gradually fell back, impeding Sherman's advance and harassing him on every occasion, but avoiding a pitched battle. The march was, in Sherman's own language, "one gigantic skirmish." Johnston had never stood well with the Southern Government, and his present policy met with no favor. On the 17th of July the command of the Confederate army was transferred to Hood. Whatever may be thought of Johnston's policy, it was hardly a well-chosen time for such a change. All the mischief that might result from Johnston's caution had now been done. His previous career showed that his retreat was not the result of weakness or indecision, but part of a deliberately arranged plan. To make a change now was to suffer all the mischief of such a plan and to forego the compensating gain. Hood at once adopted a bolder policy, but with no good result. He was defeated with heavy loss in a series of en-

ARMY-HUTS.

gagements round Atlanta. Sherman then marched to the west of Atlanta and by threatening Hood's communication with the rear, forced him to evacuate the place. On the 2d of September Sherman telegraphed to Washington "Atlanta is ours." His total loss in the campaign which ended thus was about thirty thousand, that of the enemy some ten thousand more. Merciless severity in his dealings with the inhabitants of the South, when the operations of war seemed to need it, was Sherman's fixed and deliberate policy. He was not wantonly, or even revengefully, cruel; but he went on the principle that the South could be crushed only by bringing home to the inhabitants a full sense of the miseries of war, and that no feeling of pity for them ought to stand in the way of any arrangement which could bring the war to a speedy end. In his own words, "war is cruelty, and you cannot refine it." In this spirit he ordered that all the inhabitants, without regard for sex, age, or sickness, should quit Atlanta, and he destroyed the buildings of the town, sparing only churches and dwelling-houses. The capture of Atlanta was but a step towards further ends. To penetrate into the heart of the Southern Confederacy was Sherman's ultimate aim. With this view he quitted Atlanta, abandoning his communications with the rear, and determining to maintain his army, nearly seventy thousand men, on the resources of the country and such supplies as he could carry with him. Hood, instead of opposing him, resolved to invade Tennessee; thus two invasions were going on simultaneously. The object of Sherman's march was the city of Savannah. On the 14th of November he started, and from that time till he arrived at the sea no clear tidings of his army reached the North. On the 20th of December a division of the army appeared before Fort McAlister, some fourteen miles from Savannah. The Federals had made more than one unsuccessful attack on this place from the sea, but it now fell at the first assault. General Hardee, who was in command of the Confederate forces at Savannah, found that it would be impossible to hold the place, and evacuated it. Sherman sent a message to the President announcing that he presented him, as a Christmas gift, with the city of Savannah. He had marched more than three hundred miles in thirty-six days, with a loss of little more than five hundred men. His own report stated that he had done

Burning Horses Fallen in Battle.

damage to the amount of a hundred millions of dollars, of which eighty millions was sheer waste and destruction. The march of an invading army, subsisting on the country, must always be accompanied by great suffering to the inhabitants, and little was done by Sherman or his officers to lessen it. The absence of an enemy relaxed discipline, and the army became little better than a horde of savage plunderers. The negroes rushed in troops to the army and followed their march, hailing them as deliverers; but, as might be supposed, they could find no means of support, and perished in numbers from misery and hunger.

Widely different in its result from Sherman's invasion had been Hood's sortie into Tennessee. The army opposed to his was commanded by Thomas, and was stationed at Nashville. A detachment was sent forward under General Schofield to harass Hood and check his advance. Having done this successfully, Schofield fell back and joined the main body. On December the 15th the two armies engaged in front of Nashville, and after two days' fighting the Confederates fled in confusion, hotly pursued. Their sufferings in the retreat were intensified by all the horrors of mid-winter.

In the meantime Grant had been himself endeavoring to carry out the other half of his scheme in Virginia. His object was twofold: firstly, to destroy or cripple Lee's army; secondly, to capture Richmond. Accordingly he began by a direct advance on Richmond, intending if that failed to proceed against it on the south-east side, as McClellan had done two years before. The Federal army advanced in three bodies. The main body marched through the country in which the battle of Chancellorsville had been fought. The right wing, under Sigel, marched up the Shenandoah valley; the left, under Butler, near the coast between the Rappahannock and the James river. The country through which the main body marched was called the Wilderness. It consisted of tobacco-fields, thrown out of cultivation, covered with low, scrubby wood, and cut across by deep ravines. Most of the fighting throughout the war had been carried on in woody and broken country. This gave the battles a peculiar character. No one, in reading an account of the war, can fail to notice that the great battles often took several days, almost always more than one. From the nature of the ground, it was usually impossible for the general to carry out movements with great masses of troops, such as in the great battles of Europe have often decided the matter almost at a single blow. Moreover, in a country where a foe could always approach unseen, troops were liable to be taken suddenly in flank. This led to the general use of roughly and hastily-constructed defences. Thus a great battle was often a series of petty sieges, the troops defending themselves in one post after another by felling trees and hastily throwing up earthworks. All these peculiarities were seen in the highest degree in the battles of the Wilderness. The centre of the

Federal army, under Meade, numbered one hundred and forty thousand. Against this Lee could only bring sixty thousand men. Outnumbered as he was, Lee at first acted on the offensive. In the first engagement he lost ten thousand men, the Federals double that number. After this, Lee contented himself with holding his ground against the attacks of the Federals. Again and again did Grant hurl his forces upon Lee's line, and each time he was forced by a flank movement to turn the position which he had failed to carry. After a month of this continuous carnage, Grant found himself on the south-east side of Richmond, with the Confederate line still unbroken, and his own force lessened by sixty thousand men. His position was one which McClellan had reached with comparatively trifling loss. All that he had to compensate him was the enemy's loss of eighteen thousand men, a loss in reality more serious than his own, since they could not be replaced. The South, too, had lost the services of Stuart and Longstreet. The former had fallen in some detached cavalry operations to the north-east of the main army. Longstreet, by a strange chance, had nearly met the same fate as Jackson. He and his staff, as they rode along in front of his line, were mistaken for Federal cavalry. The men fired, and Longstreet fell, seriously, though not, as was at first thought, mortally wounded. In the meantime Butler's force had been checked by Beauregard. That general had formed the daring scheme of withdrawing fifteen thousand men from Lee's army, falling with his force thus strengthened on Butler, and then, if successful, attacking Grant's left flank. Jefferson Davis, however, refused to sanction this scheme, fearing that it would endanger Lee's army.

The operations in the Shenandoah valley are important enough to need a separate notice. Early in May, Sigel was utterly routed by Breckinridge. Sigel resigned his command and was succeeded by Hunter. He obtained some trifling success, but was afterward out-manœuvred and forced to retreat into Western Virginia. Lee then, in hopes of creating a diversion, detached Early with twelve thousand men to threaten Washington. Hunter threw himself across Early's line of march, and, although defeated, created a hindrance and gave time for the defence of Washington. When the rumor came thither that Early had crossed the Potomac, the inhabitants at first mocked at all idea of danger. Extravagant terror soon took the place of over-confidence, and it was reported that Lee with sixty thousand men was marching on the capital. The danger was undoubtedly real, but troops arrived in time to make an attack impossible. Early, who had advanced within a few miles of Washington, withdrew across the Potomac. In his march through Maryland he ravaged the country mercilessly, giving the inhabitants their first insight into the actual horrors of war. In the beginning of August, Grant sent Sheridan, one of the ablest of his subordinates, with forty-five thousand men to act against Early. For some weeks nothing

was done beyond skirmishing. On September the 19th, Sheridan attacked Early at Opiquan Creek and defeated him, with a loss of about five thousand men on each side. Sheridan then, obeying Grant's orders, utterly laid waste the valley. The alleged defence for this was the necessity of making it impossible for a Southern army to advance by that route against Washington. On the 18th of October Early surprised the Federal army at Cedar Creek. His attack was at first completely successful, but his forces became scattered and demoralized in pursuit, and betook themselves to plundering the enemy's camp and feasting. Sheridan rallied his troops, fell upon Early, and utterly defeated him, capturing all his stores and a large portion of his artillery. The actual loss of men was about equal, but the Confederates

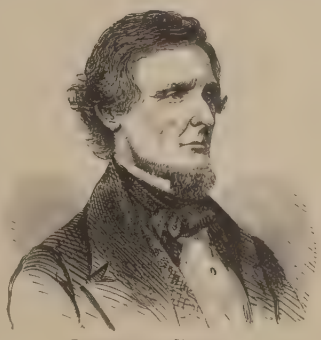
Ruins of Charleston.

were driven out of the Shenandoah valley. Thus ended the last attempt of the South to carry the war into the North.

In the autumn of 1864 the Presidential election took place. It seemed at first as if the parties would again be subdivided. A section of the Republicans were inclined to think that Lincoln would not show enough vigor in his dealings with the South. These still distrusted his views about slavery. They proposed to bring forward General Fremont, a man of great energy and high personal character. Early in the war he had held command in the west, and had incurred the displeasure of the Federal Government by his summary and, as it was thought, unconstitutional dealings with slavery. The Democrats, too, were divided into War Democrats and Peace Democrats. The representative of the former was General McClellan. The latter supported Governor Seymour of New York. The main difference between the two parties was, that the War Democrats, although opposed to abolition

and in favor of State rights, refused to listen to anything like recognition of Southern independence. At last the extreme wing of each party withdrew, and the contest lay between Lincoln and McClellan. The latter labored under many disadvantages. His military career, though respectable, had not been brilliant, and was now utterly eclipsed by Grant's successes. The time too was a bad one for putting forward the established doctrine of the Democrats, that of State rights. Moreover, as Lincoln himself put it in a homely way, it was not well to change horses while crossing a stream. These considerations were strong enough to enlist on the Republican side all those who were led rather by the special circumstances of the time, than by any fixed preference for either party, and Lincoln was re-elected by an enormous majority.

During the winter of 1864 the cause of the South became more and more hopeless. Lee's forces were gradually lessened by desertions and sickness, while he was straitened for supplies, both by mismanagement and by scarcity. In the meantime, Sherman was rapidly approaching from the South. At the end of January he left Savannah and advanced through South Carolina. Columbia, the political capital of that State, was evacuated, and Hampton, the Southern commander, in his anxiety to destroy the stores of cotton there, lest they should fall into the hands of the Federals, burnt down a large part of the city. A like fate befell Charleston. By the last week in March, Sherman had brought his army to the southern frontier of Virginia. Lee, it was clear, would, if he remained before Richmond, be crushed between the two Federal armies. His only hope was to join Johnston, who commanded the Confederate forces in South Carolina. On the 25th of March a Confederate force under General Gordon attacked the Federal lines, in the hope of cutting a way through for the escape of the army. At the outset the attempt was successful, and Fort Steadman, a strong work on the Federal right, was seized. The Federals, however, rallied, repulsed their assailants, and recaptured the fort. On the 29th of March Grant resolved to strike a decisive blow. Sheridan, by a daring and skilful attack, utterly defeated the Confederate right. This was immediately followed by an attack on the whole. The Confederate lines were forced, and the defence of Richmond became impossible. On Sunday, April 2, the news of Lee's defeat was brought to Jefferson Davis while he was in church. In a few hours the whole city was seized by a panic. As in Columbia and Charles-



JEFFERSON DAVIS.

ton, the attempt to destroy the public property was followed by a fire, by which half of the town was destroyed. On the 3d of April the Federal flag floated over the Southern capital. Petersburgh was evacuated on the same day.

The retreat of Lee and the fall of Richmond practically ended the war. The South might prolong the struggle, but all hopes of success were at an end. Yet men remembered how, after Antietam and Gettysburg, Lee's retreating army had turned upon its pursuers, and it yet seemed possible that some signal triumph might win for the South better terms than she could expect by an immediate surrender. But Lee's wearied, starving, disheartened forces were no longer the same men who had conquered at Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville. Through mismanagement, his supplies went astray, and after the 5th of April his army had no food but such as it could glean from an exhausted country in the face of an ever-watchful enemy. The men were glad to feed on the shoots of trees, and the mules fell down in the road from weakness. Whole bodies of soldiers laid down their arms and surrendered, till Lee was left with little more than ten thousand men. By April the 9th, the energy of Sheridan had barred the path of Lee's retreating force. Once more Gordon tried to cut a way through, but in vain, and then Lee sent in a flag of truce. Grant allowed liberal terms of surrender. The Southern soldiers were to become prisoners on parole, and were to return to their homes and stay there unmolested as long as they refrained from bearing arms. Men and officers alike were to retain those horses that had been their private property, a condition of no small importance to the Southern farmers. Grant and his officers left nothing undone which could lessen the bitterness of defeat, or relieve the sufferings of the Confederate troops. Lee's parting with his soldiers showed that he had won from them a love and confidence which no defeat or misfortune could lessen. War-worn men, with tears running down their cheeks, pressed round him to say farewell, and all personal distress seemed swallowed up in sympathy for their commander. Johnston's army soon shared the fate of Lee's. On the 18th of April, Sherman and Johnston met to settle the terms of surrender. Sherman, going far beyond his province as a general, granted, not merely the personal safety of the Southern army, but the restoration of political rights to the South. The Federal Government refused to confirm these terms. Johnston then offered to surrender on the same conditions that had been granted to Lee, and this was accepted.

The few remaining Confederate forces soon yielded, and the war was at an end. Jefferson Davis, after his flight from Richmond, sought to establish the Confederate seat of government at Danville in North Carolina. The surrender of the Confederate armies obliged him to flee. After many adventures and hardships he reached Georgia, but was there taken prisoner. In

the meantime an event had occurred in the North which threatened to embitter greatly the feelings of the conquerors. On the 14th of April, Lincoln was assassinated in the theatre at Washington. His murderer was an actor, named John Wilkes Booth, a fanatical partisan of the Southern cause and of slavery. He was at the head of a conspiracy for murdering the President, the Vice-President, the members of the cabinet, and General Grant. The assassination of Lincoln was the only part of the plot which succeeded. One of the conspirators, Powell, broke into the house of Mr. Seward, the Secretary of State, who was confined in his room by an accident, and wounded both him and his son severely, but not mortally, Booth was pursued and shot down, Powell and three accomplices were hanged, and four others were imprisoned. No Confederate in any high station or official position was in anywise implicated in this atrocious and purposeless crime. Lincoln was succeeded by the Vice-President, Andrew Johnson, a native of South Carolina, who had emigrated when young to Tennessee, and had warmly taken up the cause of the North.

DAVIS' PRISON, FORTRESS MONROE.

Johnson's term of office and that of his successor, General Grant, have been taken up with the process of reconstructing the Union. During the autumn of 1865 several of the Southern States annulled their ordinances of secession, and abolished slavery within their own limits. A test oath was framed by Congress to be taken by all its members. They were to swear that they had never voluntarily borne arms against, or renounced their allegiance to, the United States Government. This, as long as it remained in force, excluded all who had taken any active part on behalf of the South, though it might be doubted how far it applied to those who had only yielded compulsory military service. In January, 1866, a committee of Congress was appointed to consider the question of reconstruction. From that time the old struggle between North and South may be looked on as having taken a new form, and American history as having entered on a new epoch.

CHAPTER XXVI.

GENERAL VIEW OF THE COUNTRY AFTER THE WAR.

AS we have already said, the history of the United States is, in a great measure, the history of the process by which a small body of colonies on the Atlantic seaboard have spread toward the west. When that process is ended, it is possible that many of the peculiar features which distinguish America from the Old World will disappear. Hitherto land has been so abundant that the position of a tenant renting from a landlord has been almost unknown. But when the time comes that the unoccupied districts in the west have all been taken into cultivation, land may perhaps come to have the same value which it has in the Old World. So, too, men may be driven by want of land into manufactures. Hitherto, men in the United States have always had before them the possibility of bettering themselves by a change of abode. Moreover, the great demand for labor has given them a free choice of occupation, and thus led to rapid changes. When the power of extension towards the west is at an end, all this will change, and we may reasonably suppose that the United States will become far more like the great nations of Europe.

The most remarkable feature in the history of Western America is the discovery of gold in California in 1848, and its immediate results. Such was the rush of immigrants that in eighteen months one hundred thousand people had gone to California. All were intent on the one object of gold-digging. Labor could not be procured; the necessaries of life commanded fabulous prices; gold alone was plentiful and cheap. Wages, it is said, were at first as high as fifty dollars (ten pounds) a day, and the rent of a small cellar twelve feet by six was two hundred and fifty dollars a month. The city of San Francisco sprang up as if by magic; upwards of twenty houses a day were built on an average. As might be supposed, a mob of adventurous gold-hunters from all nations formed but poor material for a settled population. In 1850 California became a State, without passing through the intermediate stage of being a Territory. But the authorities were utterly unequal to the task of preserving law and order, and San Francisco seemed likely to become a mere den of criminals. A private body was formed, consisting of the most respectable citizens, and called the Vigilance Committee. This body took the law into its own hands, and succeeded by

summary measures in establishing order. In 1856 things again became so bad that the citizens were driven to like measures.

The main commerce of America has lain, as must always be the case with an imperfectly settled country, in the exportation of raw produce, corn, rice, cotton, and tobacco. But, though the cost of labor has hitherto prevented America from competing successfully in manufactures with the Old World, in one way it has quickened her manufacturing skill. In the art of substituting machinery for human labor the Americans have far surpassed the people of Europe. The greater part of the inventions for saving labor in farming, or in the every-day tasks of life, by the use of machinery, come from the United States. We may reasonably expect that the skill thus

San Francisco.

learned will enable the Americans, when their market for labor shall be better stocked, to equal, or even to surpass, the manufactures of Europe.

We have already seen how various nations of the Old World have contributed to make up the population of the United States. This will always have an important influence on their social and political condition. The Southern States have been, comparatively speaking, free from this influence. Where slavery exists, there is little temptation for free laborers to immigrate, and thus the white population of the South is mainly descended from the original English settlers. But in the North the population is largely made up of blood other than English. There have always been many Germans in Pennsylvania and New York, and the population of the latter State has been recruited by a continuous inpouring of Irish. This, coupled with the constant emigration westward, gives a peculiar character to the great cities of the Eastern States. Men look on them rather as mere places of business than as fixed and lasting abodes.

This familiarity with sudden and rapid changes, may have had something to do with the origin of various religious sects, holding strange doctrines, and living in peculiar fashions. Two of these sects are important enough to deserve separate notice. These are the Shakers and the Mormons. The sect of Shakers was founded about 1780, by Anne Lee, the daughter of a Lancashire blacksmith. There are now about three thousand five hundred of them in the United States, living in fifty-eight separate communities. These communities are not altogether unlike the religious houses of the Middle Ages. Their inhabitants are unmarried, and live with great temperance and good order, altogether shut off from the world. Almost all kinds of diversion and enjoyment are forbidden to the Shakers, and their time is spent in religious exercises and farming. In the latter pursuit they have been remarkably successful. The whole brotherhood owns as much as a hundred thousand acres of land, and the Shakers are reputed the best farmers in America. The sect of Mormons was founded about 1830, by Joseph Smith, the son of a farmer in Vermont. He professed to have discovered a book called the Book of Mormon, revealing a new religion, and telling the history of the American continent before its discovery by Europeans. The book was really an ill-written imitation of the Bible, and those parts which professed to be historical were taken from an unpublished novel, written some years before by one Spaulding. Smith also professed to have direct communication with God, and to receive from Him instructions as to the conduct of his disciples. The first State in which he preached his doctrines was Missouri. There his disciples met with much persecution, and were hunted from one place to another. Mobs attacked them in defiance of law, and Smith was taken prisoner, and narrowly escaped death. In 1838 the Mormons fled to Illinois. There they built a town called Nauvoo, and became a prosperous community. Disciples flocked to them from various parts of Europe, and before ten years Nauvoo contained more than ten thousand Mormon inhabitants. This prosperity, however, turned their heads, and they soon brought persecution upon themselves. In 1843 Smith professed to have received a revelation permitting the Mormons to

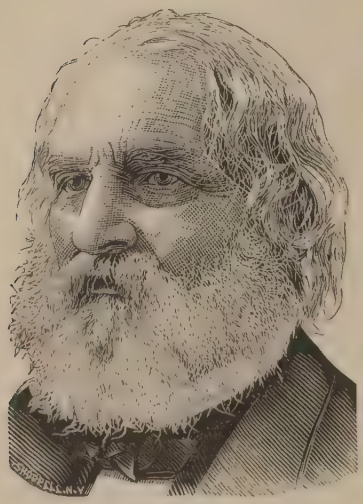
MINING IN CALIFORNIA.

marry as many wives as they pleased. In the same year he announced himself as a candidate for the Presidency of the United States. Next year the office of a newspaper which had attacked Smith and his followers was seized by a Mormon mob, and the printing-press destroyed. This was the signal for a sort of civil war between the Mormons and their neighbors. Smith was taken prisoner, dragged out of jail by a lawless mob, and shot without trial. He was succeeded by Brigham Young, a carpenter by trade.

Shakers' Dance.

and, like Smith, a native of Vermont. The troubles of the Mormons soon became so great that they resolved to leave Illinois, and to seek a refuge beyond the Rocky Mountains. After great hardships they settled in an uninhabited spot, by a lake called the Great Salt Lake, within the borders of Mexico. Soon after they found that the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo had given this territory to the United States Government. However, in 1850, the country which they had occupied was formed into a Territory under the name of Utah, and Brigham Young was appointed Governor. The industry of the Mormons soon converted an unpromising and seemingly barren district into a fertile one, and they became a rich and prosperous community. Young's arbitrary rule, and the way in which he and his followers have set the Government at defiance, have more than once brought the Mormons into conflict with the Federal authorities, and it seems likely that serious troubles may yet arise. There are many other sects in the United States, whose doctrines and manner of life are even stranger than those of the Shakers or Mormons, but none of sufficient importance to deserve separate notice.

We have seen that the northern colonies were, from the first, distinguished by the wide spread of knowledge among all classes. The United States have in that respect kept up the same character, and in that way contrast favorably with most European countries. Schooling is cheap and abundant. Books, magazines, and newspapers are placed within the reach of all by public libraries in the large towns. In the department of history America has produced remarkable writers. Prescott's histories of the Conquests of Mexico and Peru, and Motley's histories of the Rise of the Dutch Republic and of the United Netherlands, rank among the best historical works of the age. Moreover, there are many works on the history of States, districts, or towns in America, compiled with considerable care and learning. In fiction America has produced less that is valuable or distinctive. Two novelists, however, Cooper and Hawthorne, deserve special notice. Cooper, in default of a picturesque historical past, has fallen back on the Red Indians as a subject for fiction. As Sir Walter Scott in the Waverley Novels invested the wild highlanders and the border yeomen with a romantic interest, hitherto unfelt in them, so Cooper has thrown a gleam of romance over the savage life and strange customs of the American Indians. Hawthorne too may be looked upon as representing an interesting side of American feeling. The same craving for spiritual excitement, which has led to the formation of so many strange sects, shows itself in Hawthorne's novels and tales, where the romantic interest is furnished by partly supernatural incidents, while the substance of the story generally deals with the every-day country life of New England. Of many other notable writers (too many to note in a work like this), Washington Irving and the poet Longfellow deserve particular mention, the latter being probably as well known and appreciated abroad as at home.



LONGFELLOW.

APPENDIX.

CHAPTER I.

THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE SOUTH.

BY the provisions of the Constitution, Andrew Johnson of Tennessee became, upon the death of Mr. Lincoln, President of the United States. On the 15th of April he took the oath of office and was inaugurated as President. The public mind was greatly excited, and a feeling of insecurity prevailed. The first act demanded by the country was the arrest and punishment of all concerned in the murder of Lincoln and its attendant crimes. It was a general belief that the whole affair had been plotted by the Confederate leaders, and, under this impression, President Johnson issued a proclamation offering rewards for Jefferson Davis, Jacob Thompson, and others supposed to have been instigators of the crime. As minds grew calm, however, it became clear that it was the work of a few desperate men.

Booth fled through Maryland, but was pursued and at last closely followed by a body of cavalry. He, with one of his accomplices, took refuge in a barn, and was summoned to surrender: as he refused, he was shot down by one of the soldiers and died soon after. Harrold, the companion of his flight, Payne, the assailant of Mr. Seward, and some others, including Mrs. Surratt, the woman at whose house Booth boarded, were arrested. The government did not deem it safe to allow these persons to be tried by a judge and jury. With doubtful legality, a military court was constituted, before which the accused were tried; four of them were sentenced to death and hanged, including Mrs. Surratt, although the evidence against her might, perhaps, not have found

WM. H. SEWARD.

weight before any civil tribunal. The whole course of government was a dangerous precedent, and was regretted when the excitement of the moment had passed.

Though the war had virtually ended with the surrender of Lee and the fall of the Confederate government, some of the Southern armies still were in the field. On the 14th of April, the very day when Mr. Lincoln fell by the hand of Booth, General Johnston seeing the hopelessness of the struggle, sent to General Sherman to propose a suspension of hostilities. Terms were agreed upon; but at Washington, Sherman was regarded as having gone too far, and on the 26th Johnston surrendered on the same terms that had been accorded to General Lee. The Confederate General Taylor surrendered to General Canby with all the forces in the department of Alabama, Mississippi, and Eastern Louisiana, on the 4th of May; and on the 20th, General Kirby Smith surrendered beyond the Mississippi. The war on land was thus ended; but at sea the Confederate flag floated for some months, the Confederate cruiser the Shenandoah continuing to evade the United States vessels and destroy merchantmen till the 6th of November, when she ran into Liverpool, and surrendered to the English authorities.

After the surrender of the armies of Lee, Johnston, and others, the Southern soldiers straggled off to their ruined homes and wasted country; the volunteers in the armies of the United States were rapidly discharged, and the regular army reduced. In a few months, more than a million of men thus returned to their usual avocations.

The war had ruined the South. Its trade, manufactures, and industries were ruined; the destruction of property by the war and by the lawless ravages of the army followers had been immense. The planters, ruined as they were, could cultivate their plantations only by hiring their former slaves. Worst of all, they did not know their future condition, or what rights their conquerors would grant them. The North, which had lost heavily in men and means by the war, seemed to feel it less, as from the great issue of paper money prices had advanced, and a seeming prosperity prevailed; but the industry of the country was crippled by a debt of nearly three thousand millions of dollars.

The great question before the government was to determine on a course to be pursued with the States that had seceded. It seemed impossible to recognize the actual State governments and allow Senators and Representatives of the South to be elected and take their places at once in Congress. The Constitution gave no powers or directions for solving the difficulty. Mr. Lincoln had advocated a lenient policy, and his popularity gave him such a strong hold, that he would have been able to carry it out to some extent, at least. Booth, in his mad folly, did the greatest possible harm to the very States he wished to serve. President Lincoln had, by a proclamation,

December 8, 1863, recognized governments as reorganized in the States of Louisiana and Tennessee; but while Congress did not venture to annul his acts, it declined to receive Senators or Representatives from those States. President Johnson had not, however, the support of the country which his predecessor enjoyed, and his administration of the executive office and policy involved him in great difficulties, made the Presidential power a mere shadow, and drew on the South a more rigorous and sterner policy. On the 29th of May, 1865, the President issued a proclamation granting pardon to all who had taken part in the recent rebellion, excepting certain specified classes, on condition of their taking an oath of allegiance to the United States. He recognized as loyal the governments of Virginia and Arkansas, and ap-

THE NATIONAL CAPITOL.

pointed provisional governors of the other seceded States, with power to call conventions and establish permanent governments loyally subordinate to the United States. They were required to repeal the Act of Secession, repudiate any debt incurred in support of the Confederate government, and to ratify an amendment for the abolition of slavery which had passed both Houses of Congress, and been submitted to the States for their ratification. The provisional governors appointed by President Johnson called conventions, at which the proposed amendment was ratified and new State constitutions adopted.

When Congress assembled on the 4th of December, 1865, it was evident that it would not recognize the system of reconstruction adopted by the President. Conceiving his terms to be too liberal, a majority of Congress resolved to impose on the seceded States most rigorous conditions. Acts were introduced for establishing new governments in the Southern States,

which were divided into five military districts and placed under the control of generals who were to call a constitutional convention in each State. These military commanders were authorized to allow civil tribunals to take jurisdiction of and try offenders, or to organize military commissions for that purpose. No one was to be allowed to vote for a member of this convention, or to vote under the new constitution, unless he took an oath that he had taken no part in the recent civil war against the United States. This provision virtually excluded nearly every white citizen in the Southern States, and gave the control to the emancipated slaves and a few whites, most of whom entered those States after the war.

The President vetoed the series of reconstruction acts passed by Congress, but they were all passed over his veto by a majority of two-thirds, and became laws. The President and Congress differed completely in their ideas, and the power of the President in legislation became for the time annulled. The question of the constitutionality of the Reconstruction Acts came before the Supreme Court of the United States in 1869, in the case of Texas against White, when that Court sustained them, and held that during the Rebellion the seceding States had no governments competent to represent them in their relations with the National Government.

The first of the Southern States which was organized under the Congressional Reconstruction Acts was Tennessee, which was readmitted into the Union by Congress on the 23d of July, 1866.

While the United States were distracted by civil war, France, with whom England and Spain at first acted in concert, sent armies into Mexico to enforce claims against that republic. Meeting but slight and ineffectual resistance, the French army under Marshal Bazaine reached the city of Mexico, and the national government was overthrown. A convention of notables under French influence declared in favor of a monarchy, and invited the Austrian Archduke Maximilian to become Emperor of Mexico. He accepted the crown, and proceeded to Mexico, where he attempted to organize the government. The establishment of a monarchy in North America on the ruins of a republic could not be regarded with indifference by the people of the United States. One of the earliest acts of Johnson's administration was a protest to the French government against the continuance of their armies in Mexico. Early in 1866 the government of the Emperor Napoleon assured the United States that they should be promptly withdrawn. The power manifested by the United States government in reducing the seceded States had increased its influence abroad, and secured greater respect from foreign powers. In time the French withdrew from Mexico, and the unfortunate Maximilian, too high-spirited to retire from his dangerous position, attempted to maintain it, was defeated and betrayed into the hands of the republican party, and summarily shot with some of his generals at Querétaro.

The Republican government, with Juarez as President, was again restored at the capital.

The influence of the military power manifested by the United States was seen also on the northern frontier. Previous to the Civil War, England had maintained in Canada an army of some thirty thousand men, and a system of fortifications deemed adequate to protect that colony from invasion, and it had, indeed, been boasted that in case of war, the English army would easily march to Washington. After the close of the Civil War in America it became manifest that, even for the defence of Canada, the force was useless: the troops were soon withdrawn, and the fortifications abandoned. The absence of troops in Canada emboldened a revolutionary organization among the Irish in Ireland and the United States to form a project of invading that province with a military force raised in the United States. Many officers and soldiers who had seen service in the recent Civil War joined the Fenian Brotherhood, as the association was called, and men and arms were collected near the frontier in New York and Vermont. The government of the United States took steps to prevent this illegal course, but a small body of Fenians crossed at Niagara, and a slight skirmish occurred at Ridgewood. The whole movement was soon suppressed.

In the month of July, 1866, a telegraphic cable was successfully laid between England and the United States, which proved permanent, the cable laid in 1862 having failed to work almost immediately, from some unexplained cause. This new channel of information by means of the telegraphic system throughout the United States and Europe enabled news of every important event to be transmitted instantly from any part of either continent to the great centres of the other. A morning paper, instead of giving news brought by sailing vessels or steamers, always at least ten days, and often several weeks after the event, now tells the citizens of New York, San Francisco, or New Orleans, what happened the day before in London or Paris, Berlin, Rome, or Constantinople, as regularly as it does the news of the city where the journal itself is issued.

The Civil War in America, from the fertility of resource displayed on both sides, had led to a host of experiments which eventually greatly modified the whole system of war on land and water. The importance of railroads in transporting men and war material, made future campaigns depend on the control of railroad lines, and rendered great railroad centres objects of strategic importance. The employment of heavy siege artillery or naval guns, made stone forts of comparatively little service in protecting harbors. On ships, the old system of cannon on each side of the vessel to pour broadsides into a fort or hostile vessel gave place to a few cannon of immense size in revolving iron turrets; and to resist the new projectiles introduced, ships were sheathed with heavy plates of iron. As one country increased the

armor and strength of vessels, another introduced heavier and more effective cannon. The system of torpedoes, originated in America by Bushnell and Fulton, became an object of study, and by employing electricity to ignite them, these instruments for the destruction of shipping were rendered very effective as a means of harbor defence.

In the sessions of Congress in 1866 and 1867, many acts were passed which President Johnson deemed unwise, and which he returned without his signature, giving his reasons. In all cases these were passed over his veto, so that for the time the legislative power conferred on the President by the Constitution was much curtailed. The Houses of Congress then went further, and, in vesting in the General of the Army a power independent of the President, and at a subsequent period in preventing the President from dismissing any member of his cabinet, they assumed much of the former power of the Executive. In this they were sustained by the majority in the States which were then permitted by Congress to be represented in its halls. Congress was thus supreme, the position was a critical one, and fraught with great danger; but the Providence which had so wisely guided the destinies of America saved it from the perils which menaced its existence.

Bent on carrying out its own plans, the Republican majority in Congress would brook no opposition. As early as January, 1867, Mr. Ashley of Ohio moved the impeachment of the President for high crimes and misdemeanors; and though this was not pushed at the time, Congress in March passed the Tenure of Office Bill by which the President of the United States was deprived of a power which he had always hitherto exercised, that of dismissing any member of his cabinet. Under this law the President was forbidden to remove any member of his cabinet without the consent of the Senate, and it was enacted that those officers should hold office for and during the term of the President by whom they have been appointed, and for one month thereafter, subject to removal by and with the consent of the Senate. This bill President Johnson vetoed as a palpable infringement of his constitutional rights as Executive, he being responsible for the acts of his cabinet, which were regarded as his executive acts. But the bill was passed over his veto.

Bills had been passed for the admission of Colorado and Nebraska as States, but had been vetoed. In 1867 similar bills were passed which the President thought fit also to veto; but a bill for the admission of Nebraska, with a condition requiring impartial suffrage and the adoption of the pending amendments to the Constitution was passed March 1, 1867, and Nebraska took its place among the States of the Union.

The United States, which, as established by the triumphant issue of the Revolutionary War, reached only to the Mississippi on the west, and the

St. Mary's on the south, had, by the purchase of Florida and Louisiana, extended its limits over all the territory of North America between the forty-ninth degree and the frontiers of Mexico; and then, by the annexation of Texas and the resulting Mexican War, had acquired a large part of the neighboring republic. It was now to acquire a part of North America not immediately contiguous. Russia had long possessed the northwest extremity of the continent, but desired to withdraw. When it was proposed that the United States should purchase this province, to which the name Alaska was given, the project found many warm advocates. The territory consisted of

St. Nicholas Inlet, Alaska.

nearly six hundred thousand square miles, had several good harbors, its fisheries were abundant, and the trade in furs was very lucrative. Its metallic resources were not explored, but were supposed to be valuable. It was purchased of Russia in October, 1867, for seven million two hundred thousand dollars. As it did not meet the anticipations formed, no regular territorial government was established, and for the next fifteen years it declined, losing much of the prosperity it had enjoyed under Russian rule.

In August, President Johnson, finding that Mr. Stanton, the Secretary of War, was not in harmony with his views, asked him to resign. This Mr. Stanton declined to do. The President thereupon suspended him (August 12), regarding the Tenure of Office Act as inapplicable to his case, as Mr. Stanton

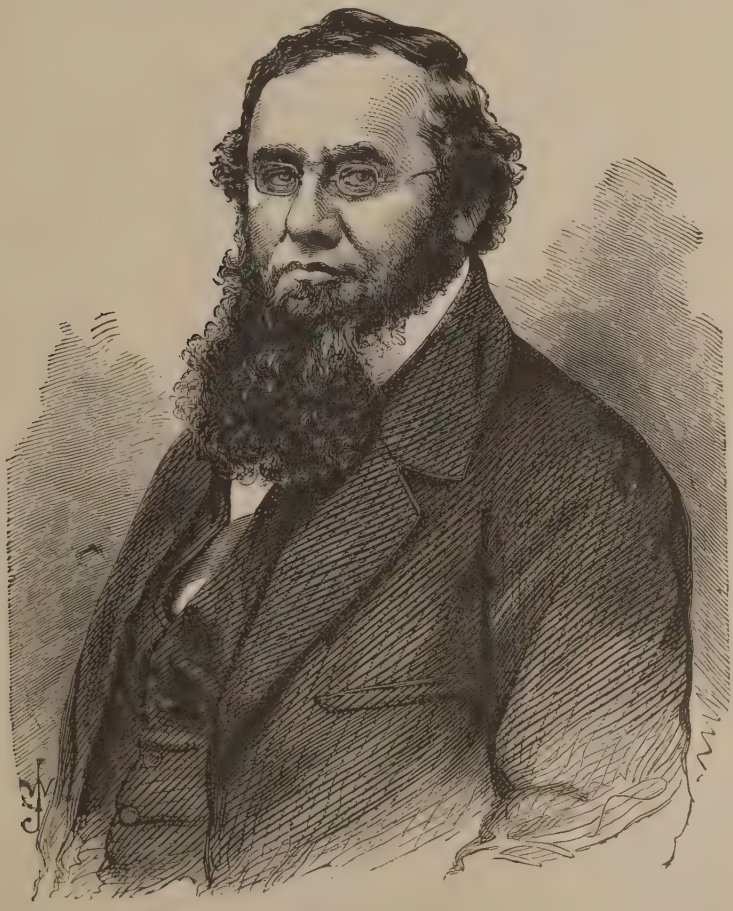
had not been appointed by him. General Ulysses S. Grant was then appointed Secretary of War. This was followed by the removal of General Sheridan and General Sickles from the departments under their control. When Congress assembled, President Johnson in a message notified the two Houses of his action, and the causes that led to it; but on the 13th of January, the Senate reinstated Mr. Stanton. This was followed by a new act for reorganizing the Southern States, by which almost absolute power was given to the General-in-Chief, and the President was deprived of much power over the army. Congress thus curtailed the power of the executive. The President resolved not to submit, and on the 21st of February, 1868, removed Mr. Stanton from the office of Secretary of War, and appointed General Thomas, Secretary *ad interim*, and communicated the fact to the Senate.

The struggle had now come to a decisive point. The President insisted that if he was President of the United States, Mr. Stanton should not be Secretary of War; Congress resolved that if Mr. Stanton was not retained, Mr. Johnson should cease to be President of the United States. The somewhat complicated system of government was now to be put to a strain that had never been anticipated. Congress had been manifestly diminishing executive powers; it had evinced the greatest hostility to the President, deprived him of powers exercised freely by every other Chief Magistrate, and now one House was to be his accuser, and the other his judge. On the 22d of February, 1868, by a strictly party vote, one hundred and twenty-six to forty-seven, the House of Representatives resolved that Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, should be impeached of high crimes and misdemeanors. Articles of impeachment were then drawn up, and managers appointed to conduct the prosecution before the Senate, sitting as a Court The Constitution of the United States provides: "The Senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments. When sitting for that purpose, they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief Justice shall preside; and no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two-thirds of the members present."

Under the Constitution a person impeached could, if convicted, be removed from office and disqualified to enjoy any office of honor, trust, or profit under the United States.

The country was now to witness for the first time in its history, a Chief Magistrate, elected by the votes of the people, placed on trial for high crimes and misdemeanors. The Senate was organized as a Court on the 5th of March, 1868, Salmon P. Chase, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, presiding. After the usual delays for presenting the Articles of Impeachment, and awaiting the President's answer, the trial began on Monday, March 30th. The prosecution was conducted chiefly by Benjamin F. Butler of Massachusetts, the defence by Henry Stanbery of Ohio, with whom were

associated William M. Evarts of New York, W. S. Groesbeck of Ohio, B. R. Curtis of Massachusetts, and T. A. R. Nelson of Tennessee. The President was not personally present. A question arose whether the President of the Senate, who would become Acting President of the United



Edwin M. Stanton.

States on the removal of President Johnson, could sit as his judge, and also whether the Chief Justice had the right to pass on the admissibility of evidence. The managers introduced testimony to sustain the Articles of Impeachment, and the President's counsel in support of his answer; but they were not allowed to show that in cabinet meetings it had been agreed to take a step that would obtain from the Supreme Court of the United

States a decision as to the constitutionality of the Tenure of Office Act. The Senate sat in judgment on its power to decide on the constitutionality of its own acts.

After elaborate arguments the Senate proceeded to vote. The first vote was on the eleventh article, charging the President with denying the constitutionality of the Thirty-ninth Congress. Thirty-five members, all republicans, voted for conviction; nineteen, embracing all the democratic members and a few republicans, for acquittal. As the number for conviction was not two-thirds of the whole body, the President was acquitted on that charge. A vote was then taken on the second and third articles, charging him with unlawfully appointing General Thomas Secretary of War *ad interim*. On this the same vote was given. The Court then adjourned, without at all voting on the first and principal article, that which charged him with unlawfully removing Mr. Stanton.

The acquittal of the President on these few charges brought against him was virtually a decision in favor of his right to remove Mr. Stanton. That officer, in consequence, resigned the position which he had held in defiance of the President, and Mr. Johnson appointed John M. Schofield of Missouri, Secretary of War.

The twenty-eighth day of July, 1868, is a remarkable day in American history. On that day Congress, by a joint resolution, declared that the Fourteenth Amendment, the acceptance of which by the Southern States had been made compulsory, had been ratified by the requisite number of States, and was part of the Constitution of the United States. It made all persons born or naturalized in the United States, citizens, and prohibited any State from abridging their privileges or immunities; and where the right of suffrage was denied in any State to any portion of the citizens, its number of representatives in Congress was to be reduced in proportion. It excluded from Congress, and from all civil and military office under the United States, all persons who had been engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or who had given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof, until the disability was removed by a two-thirds vote of Congress. It established the validity of the debt of the United States, and prohibited the States from assuming any debt incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States. This amendment had been ratified by Arkansas, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, North Carolina, and South Carolina, and those States had been readmitted to the Union on the 24th of June. As the military rule had been established over the South, the General-in-Chief on the day that Congress declared the amendment part of the Constitution, issued a proclamation declaring the reconstruction act, so far as it vested the government of the South in the military power, no longer in force.

A treaty negotiated with China, through Mr. Burlingame, was this year

ratified by the Senate, by which mutual privileges of trade, travel, education and religion were secured to citizens of either country within the limits of the other. In subsequent years, owing to the great influx of Chinese emigration into California, and the opposition excited against them, the provisions of this treaty became an object of much censure and complaint. Under it, heathen temples were established in many States, and communities grew up governed by the rules, customs, and usages of China.

By this time much had been done to terminate the war with the Sioux Indians, which began in the year 1862 with a terrible massacre. The Indian department had long been sadly mismanaged, treaties were made with the tribes which were not carried out, Indians were removed from place to place without regard to their wishes or necessities, and they were practically at the mercy of dishonest but all-powerful Indian agents. Several bands of the large and powerful nation of Sioux had been suffering under grievances, and in the summer of 1862 some of the Upper Sioux, nearly starving, broke into a government warehouse, and obtained food. Fearing punishment, they resolved to massacre the whites, and for three days bands of Sioux went from settlement to settlement in Minnesota killing and plundering. Nearly a thousand men, women, and children were butchered, and property destroyed to the amount of millions of dollars. A tract two hundred miles by fifty was abandoned, the survivors forsaking their homes and seeking refuge in towns and forts. Troops were sent to chastise the Indians, many prisoners were recovered, and hundreds of Sioux were taken and tried by military commission. Three hundred were sentenced to death, but only thirty-nine were executed. The rest of the Minnesota Sioux were removed to a tract of land in Dakota. Their dissatisfaction with this place induced other bands to assume hostilities. After great loss, and a cost of forty millions of dollars, treaties were made with the Sioux, the hostile bands fled across the Canadian border, the peaceable were removed to Nebraska.

As the time for a Presidential election approached, the Republicans, in a convention held at Chicago in May, nominated as their candidate for President, General Ulysses S. Grant, and for Vice-President, Schuyler Colfax, then Speaker of the House of Representatives. The Democratic party, in a convention held in New York in July, nominated Horatio Seymour of New York for the Presidency, and Francis P. Blair of Missouri for Vice-President. Thirty-four States took part in the election, Virginia, Mississippi, and Texas being still disfranchised. The re-admitted Southern States were under negro rule and Republican, few whites being allowed to vote. Grant received 3,021,020 votes, and Seymour 2,716,475; but in the electoral college Grant had 214 votes and Seymour only 80. Ulysses S. Grant and Schuyler Colfax were accordingly elected.

Subsequent to the election another amendment to the Constitution of the

United States passed both Houses of Congress, and was submitted to the people of the States. By it the right of suffrage is secured to all citizens of the United States, without regard to race, color, or previous condition of servitude: but a State could still require a property qualification in naturalized citizens.

To maintain the credit of the United States, and to relieve the fears of those who believed that the bonds issued by government during the war might be paid off in depreciated paper money, an act was passed pledging the faith of the United States for their payment in coin, or its equivalent.

Soon after the close of the war, the United States government demanded of Great Britain compensation for the vessels and cargoes which had been destroyed by the Confederate cruisers fitted out in English ports, and equipped and manned mainly by British subjects. Reverdy Johnson, Minister to Great Britain, negotiated a treaty with that power in June, 1868; but when it was submitted to the Senate, it was rejected. These claims were thus left for subsequent adjustment. As the greatest part of the destruction was caused by the Alabama, under the command of Commodore Semmes, these claims were generally called the Alabama Claims.

North Front of the White House.

CHAPTER II.

GRANT'S ADMINISTRATION.

THE election of General Grant gave the country a President who was in full accord with the dominant party in Congress, —a man accustomed to military rule, who had never held any civil office, and therefore disposed to be determined. He was inaugurated on the 4th of March, 1869. Ulysses S. Grant was born in Clermont County, Ohio, April 27, 1822, was educated at West Point, and entering the army, served through the Mexican war, and rose to the rank of captain. He subsequently left the army, and became associated with his father in the tannery business. During the Civil War he rose from Colonel of the Twenty-first Illinois Volunteers to be General-in-Chief. The reputation he had acquired by his brilliant campaigns in the West and East, made him extremely popular.

By the Tenure of Office Act the cabinet retained their places for ten days after the inauguration, but President Grant at once appointed a cabinet consisting of Hamilton Fish of New York, Secretary of State; George S. Boutwell, Secretary of the Treasury; John A. Rawlins, Secretary of War; Adolph E. Borie, Secretary of the Navy; Jacob D. Cox, Secretary of the Interior; John A. J. Creswell, Postmaster General; E. Rockwood Hoar, Attorney General. The Senate confirmed them on the 5th.

President Grant in his first message urged the desirability of a speedy restoration of the Southern States to their proper relations to the United

States government, and on the 10th of April an Act was passed authorizing the people of Virginia, Mississippi, and Texas to vote on the constitutions prepared by the State conventions, elect members of Congress and State officers, but requiring them before re-admission to ratify the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. It was not, however, till early in the following year that these States were actually admitted.

The restoration of the Southern States gave the citizens power once more to manage their own local affairs. The negroes, with persons recently come from the North, and popularly known as "carpet-baggers," were Republicans; the mass of the white population was Democratic. The negro vote in several States was very heavy, and the whites, especially in South Carolina, saw ignorant negroes or mere adventurers filling the legislative halls, and occupying the most important positions in the State. Extravagance and corruption followed, taxes increased with rapidity, and deep and bitter feelings were aroused. Secret organizations were formed to overawe and terrify the negroes; to suppress these, Congress passed a series of Acts. The corruption prevalent among the white Republican adventurers who traded on the ignorance of the negroes, enabled the native Democrats gradually to recover the control of public affairs, and schemes of all kinds were adopted to reduce the negro vote.

Doubts had been raised as to the constitutionality of the paper money issued during the war, and commonly called "greenbacks." By a decision of the Supreme Court in December, 1869, the law under which the paper money was authorized was declared to be unconstitutional. Congress immediately increased the number of justices, and availing themselves of a vacancy, the Republican President and Congress appointed two new justices who were known to be of a contrary opinion. By the Court thus formed, the previous decision was reversed in March, 1870.

The eastern or Spanish portion of the island of Hayti after being for years under negro rule, regained freedom, and became the Dominican Republic. It was for a time under Spanish authority, but did not prosper. The people looked to annexation to the United States as their only hope. General Grant entered warmly into the project, and in September, 1869, a treaty was negotiated between him and the President of the Dominican Republic. In 1870 President Grant recommended the annexation in a message in which he set forth the military advantages. Commissioners were sent to that Republic who reported favorably, but the subject was abandoned. Somewhat later a project was started the object of which was to acquire Samana Bay, a port in Santo Domingo, for a coaling station.

The failure of the treaty negotiated in the time of President Johnson, left many questions to be adjusted with Great Britain. The most irritating of these was the question of indemnity to the United States for the ravages

on her commerce caused by the Confederate cruisers. These vessels were fitted out from English ports, and they not only destroyed many American vessels, but made the sea so unsafe that American ship-owners sold their vessels at great loss to avoid their capture, and the United States, from possessing one of the largest mercantile navies in the world, sank very low. This caused a deep-seated feeling against England. In the Eastern States there was another ground of complaint, because American fishing-vessels were prevented by the governments of the British colonies from taking fish where they had a treaty right; and in the northwest there was a dispute as to the boundary channel near Vancouver's Island. To adjust all these, a Joint High Commission of fourteen British and American diplomatists met at Washington in February, 1871. This resulted in the Treaty of Washington, concluded May 8th, by which the Alabama claims were submitted to arbitrators, one chosen by each country, and three others named by Italy, Switzerland, and Brazil. This board met at Geneva, in Switzerland, and awarded to the United States the sum of fifteen million five hundred thousand dollars in gold. The treaty of Washington also adjusted the Fishery questions, though not in a manner to be permanently satisfactory. It secured the free navigation of the St. Lawrence and other rivers to American vessels, and submitted the question regarding the north-west boundary to the Emperor of Germany, who decided in favor of the channel claimed by the United States, and gave that republic the island of San Juan.

On the 22d of May, 1872, a bill was passed removing all legal and political disabilities imposed on citizens of the seceded States, excepting only those who had been members of Congress, judges, foreign ministers, or officers in the army or navy. The pardon was subsequently extended to all persons except Jefferson Davis.

Georgia, the most powerful of all the Southern States, steadily resisted the reconstruction measures, and passed laws which Congress insisted on her repealing. It was not till July 15th, 1870, that she finally yielded to the will of the Northern States, and adopted the laws they imposed upon her. The States were again united in fact, as well as in name, yet it was not till the 23d of May, 1872, that all the States in the Union were represented in Congress, or permitted to take part in making the laws and guiding the destinies of a great nation.

Even after this happy event, Congress continued to pass laws aimed at the South. The Force Bill was intended to enforce rigidly the provisions of the Fourteenth Amendment, which had been frequently evaded in many Southern States. It allowed the President to suspend the writ of *habeas corpus*, and to employ the military and naval forces to suppress conspiracies to take away any one's rights as a citizen, and declared such conspiracies rebellion against the government of the United States. This

Act excited opposition not only from the Democrats, but also from moderate Republicans, many of whom considered the dominant policy no longer patriotic or just.

While many Republicans adhered to the former policy, and were willing to go to any lengths to maintain their supremacy, there was a growing feeling in the party that severity had been carried far enough. This led to distinct action in Missouri by the Liberal Republicans, who united with the Demo-

INDIANS' FIRST VIEW OF THE PACIFIC RAILROAD.

crats of that State in removing the disabilities imposed on all who had sympathized with the South. This led to the organization of the Liberal Republicans as a party in many parts of the country; Horace Greeley, editor of the "New York Tribune," lending all the support of that paper to its cause.

A great public work had for some years been in progress—a railroad which was to connect the Eastern States with California. The road was extended from the East and from the West, and the road was completed in 1869, at a point near Great Salt Lake. This road received vast grants of

the public land from Congress, and was built by a corporation known as the "Credit Mobilier." A charge was made that the Credit Mobilier had bribed members of Congress by gifts of stock. This led to investigation, and though distinct bribery was not proved, the affair weakened the confidence of the people in many members of both Houses.

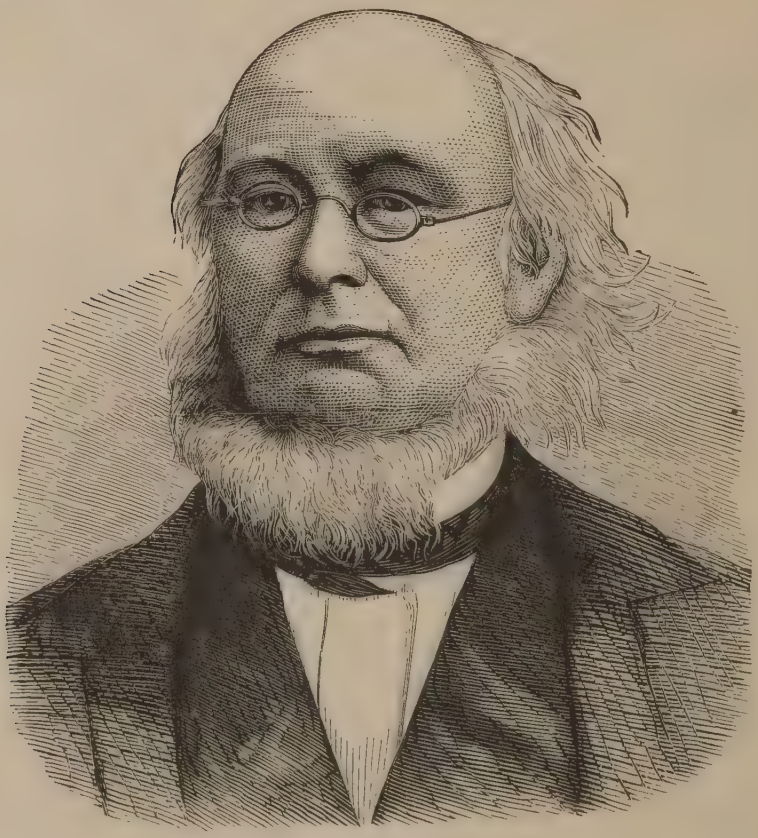
In Louisiana fraud and corruption prevailed to such a degree that in 1875 there were two Returning Boards, and by their decisions two Governors and two Legislatures claimed power in the State. This was finally adjusted by a Committee of Congress, but the same result took place in 1876. In all these troubles lives were lost, the commanding generals interfered, legislatures were invaded. There was a growing sense in the community that Federal interference had been carried far enough, and might prove prejudicial to the whole nation.

The country was recovering from the effects of the Civil War which had laid waste so many Southern cities, when the North experienced several terrible visitations. The first of these was the Chicago fire, which broke out in the rich and thriving commercial capital of Illinois on the 8th of October, 1871. All efforts to check the spread of the flames proved unavailing; the fire swept like a torrent through the city, destroying all in its path, till twenty-five thousand public and private buildings were consumed, leaving five square miles of the area of the city a smouldering mass of embers. Two hundred lives were lost; ninety-eight thousand five hundred persons were suddenly deprived of home and all worldly means, and the loss of property amounted to one hundred and ninety-six millions of dollars. The utmost distress prevailed, but the charity of America and Europe sent prompt succor, and in a short time the people were energetically rebuilding their ruined city. Almost at the same time a fire swept through the wooded regions of Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota, consuming in its course whole villages, and leaving those who lived by forest industry homeless and destitute. So sudden was the spread of the fire and so rapid, that nearly two thousand lives were lost. In November of the ensuing year, 1872, Boston, the capital of Massachusetts, was similarly chastened. A fire broke out in the centre of the business part of the city, where buildings were solid and substantial, and a rapidly spreading fire unexpected. But buildings reared by man proved of no avail against the surging flames. Seventy-five acres were laid waste in the very centre of the business activity of Boston, and the losses of property were estimated at more than seventy millions of dollars.

The feeling throughout the country against any further severity to the South, and the disorders arising in Louisiana, with revelations of great corruption in many departments, even in the President's cabinet, the Secretary of the Interior, Belknap, resigning and undergoing impeachment—all this

led many Republicans to join the Liberal movement, and favor a lenient policy.

In the convention called by this new party and held at Cincinnati in May, Horace Greeley of New York, Editor of the New York Tribune, and one of the founders of the Republican party, was nominated for President, and B. Gratz Brown of Missouri for Vice-President. The regular Repub-



HORACE GREELEY.

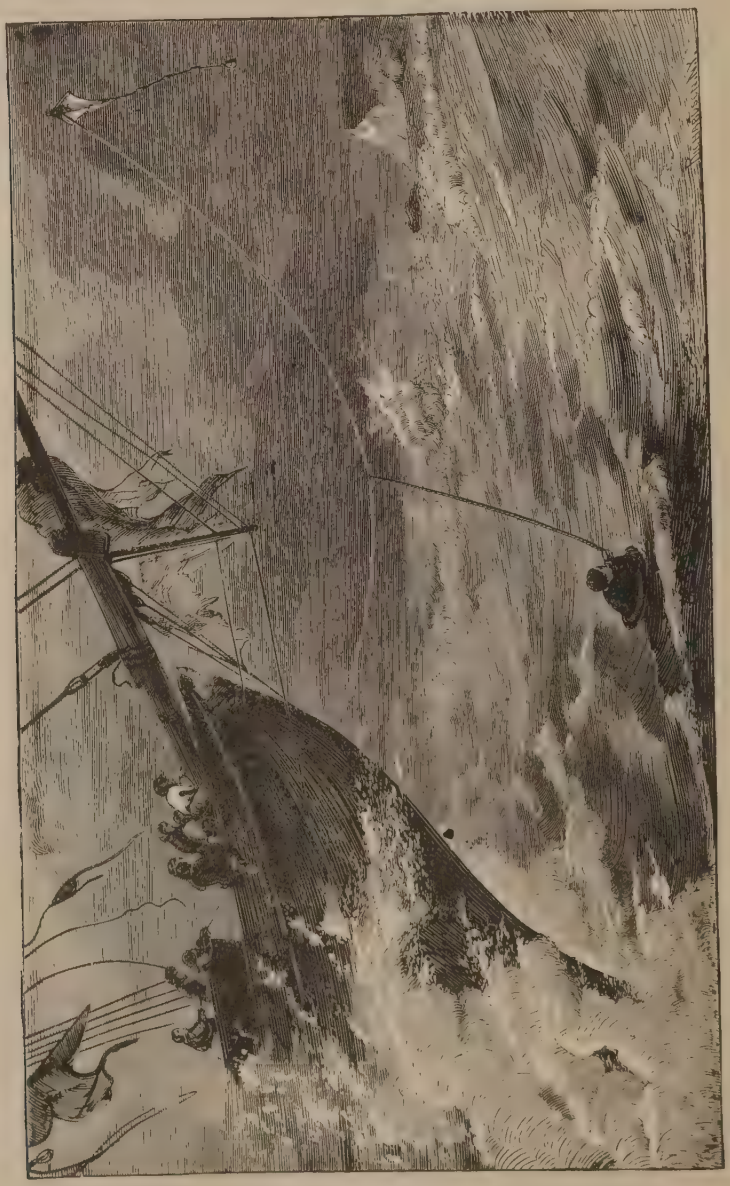
licans met at Philadelphia in June, and here Ulysses S. Grant was renominated for the Presidency, with Henry Wilson of Massachusetts for Vice-President. The Democratic party was discouraged by the result of previous elections, and many thought the best policy would be to strengthen the hands of the Liberal Republicans. When their convention assembled at Baltimore in June, it was proposed to adopt the ticket of the Liberal Republicans, and to call on their party to vote for Greeley and Brown, rather than

set up a ticket of their own. This project was vigorously opposed, but was finally adopted. A portion of the Democratic party, dissatisfied with this determination, called a convention, which met at Louisville, and nominated Charles O'Conor of New York for President, and John Quincy Adams of Massachusetts for Vice-President. The election showed that the Liberal Republicans had failed to influence any considerable portion of the party. Grant and Wilson received two hundred and eighty-six votes, while Greeley and Brown received but sixty-six, two States in the South, Louisiana and Arkansas, being deprived of a vote. Mr. Greeley did not live to witness the official action of the electoral college.

The study of the changes of temperature and the condition of the barometer at various points led to a more extended knowledge of atmospheric variations, from which the laws regulating the changes became clearer. The approach of storms from the point of their origin was thus more accurately estimated. This study was begun in England, and after much opposition, the government created a department for carrying it out effectively, establishing a central office which was connected with observation-stations in all parts of the kingdom. The result was most encouraging: warned by the daily reports from this bureau, vessels were detained till storms were over, and the number of wrecks was greatly diminished. In the first term of General Grant a Signal Bureau was established under the War Department, and by means of telegraphic communication with all parts of our immense country, constant record is kept of every change at any point. Daily bulletins are issued, notifying the public of imminent changes, of storms occurring in any part, and the direction they assume. This bureau owed its efficiency in no small degree to the efficiency and skill of the first Chief Signal Officer, General Albert J. Myer, to whom the special duty of observing and giving notice by telegraph of approaching storms was confided by an Act of Congress passed in February, 1870. In direct communication with this is the Life Saving Service, which has stations on the Atlantic and Pacific coasts, and on the Northern Lakes. These stations are provided with life-boats and the most perfected systems for sending lines to vessels in distress, so as to enable those on board to save their lives and property.

An embassy of twenty-one persons, embracing several of the heads of departments of the Japanese government, reached the United States in 1872, to renew the former treaties, and acquire a better knowledge of the relations of the two countries, and the means of developing advantageous intercourse between them. By their influence numbers of young men of rank in Japan came to the United States to prosecute their studies in our best universities and scientific schools, and educational establishments under American direction were opened in Japan. This gave that country in a few years many intelligent and educated men, fully informed as to this country and our peo-

ple, and able to render service to the Japanese government in all international questions.



VESSEL IN DISTRESS.

By an Act passed in 1871, the President of the United States was authorized to prescribe rules and regulations for admission into the civil

service as will best promote the efficiency thereof, and ascertain the fitness of each candidate for the branch of service into which he seeks to enter. Under this, a commission was appointed to draft rules; but the law has not proved an adequate remedy for the evil sought to be corrected. Many offices are filled with incompetent and unfit men, who obtain them as rewards for services at elections, rendered to the leaders in their respective political partis. The object of the Act was to secure competent men, and to make promotion a reward for honest and efficient discharge of official duties. The subject has been revived from time to time, but the system of giving offices after an election as rewards for services is too deeply rooted in American politics to be easily set aside.

After the inauguration of General Grant as President, and Henry Wilson as Vice-President, the Senate confirmed the members of the new cabinet: Hamilton Fish, Secretary of State; William W. Belknap, Secretary of War; William A. Richardson, Secretary of the Treasury; George M. Robeson, Secretary of the Navy; Columbus Delano, Secretary of the Interior; John A. J. Creswell, Postmaster-General; George H. Williams, Attorney-General.

General Canby.

Soon after the commencement of President Grant's second term the country was involved in hostilities with the Modocs. They were a tribe who had resided for many years near the boundary between California and Oregon. An Act was passed for removing them to the Klamath reservation. This, the majority of the Modocs refused to do, preferring to die rather than to leave the home of their ancestors. Troops were sent to reduce them, and, overpowered by numbers, the Modocs agreed to meet peace commissioners by appointment. When they came together, the Indians treacherously fired upon the whites, killing General Canby and Rev. Dr. Thomas, one of the commissioners. The war was renewed, and the Modocs, taking refuge in the most inaccessible portion of a broken country known as the Lava Beds, defied pursuit. They were, however, persistently hunted down, and the whole party captured on the 1st of June, 1873. The leader of the hostile Modocs, known as Captain Jack, with two others implicated in the assassination, were tried, found guilty, and executed at Fort Klamath in October. The rest of the hostile Modocs were transported to Indian Territory,

A civil war had been raging for several years in Cuba, the people of that island having, in 1868, attempted to put an end to the authority of Spain in

America. A republican government was adopted, and the revolutionists had successfully held their ground against the large and well-commanded Spanish armies sent against them; but they had not succeeded in liberating the island, or in capturing any of the large cities. None of the great powers had recognized them a. belligerents, and the government of the United States prohibited the shipment of arms and war material to them. Occasionally, however, a vessel would elude the vigilance of the authorities, and, clearing for some other port, would run in at the Cuban coast, where it would land men and arms. Spanish cruisers were constantly hovering around the shores of the island to prevent the insurgents from receiving relief in this way. In 1873, an American vessel, named the Virginius, while on the high sea, and not within Spanish waters, was pursued by the Spanish war-steamer Tornado, overtaken near the island of Jamaica, and carried into Santiago de Cuba. The American flag was hauled down and trampled upon; the captain, crew, and passengers were taken on shore, committed to prison, and immediately tried by court-martial. Their claim to be American citizens was disregarded, and no regard was paid to the protest of the American consul. With the most indecent haste, and allowing no time for appeal, the captain and several of the passengers, citizens of the United States, were shot. The entrance into the harbor of a British man-of-war compelled respect to the American flag, and saved the lives of the rest of the persons captured on the Virginius. When the tidings of this massacre reached the United States, the indignation was universal. President Grant at once demanded reparation, and the Spanish government disavowed the act of the commander at Santiago de Cuba. The Virginius was restored in December, and eighty thousand dollars paid as indemnity to the families of the men so unjustly executed. While the Virginius was on her way to New York, in charge of a vessel of the United States navy, she sprung a leak and went to the bottom, near the coast of North Carolina.

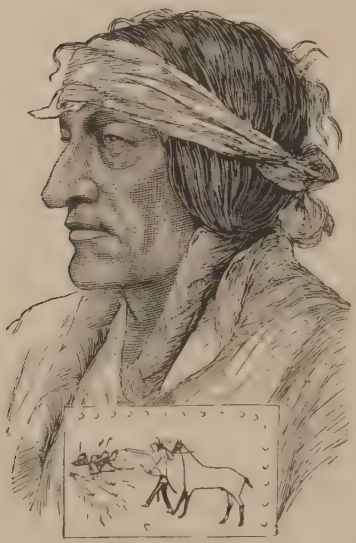
During the war, the currency of the country was almost entirely the depreciated paper money issued by government, of which at one time two hundred and eighty dollars were required to equal one hundred dollars in gold. The prices of property and of all goods in paper money rose excessively, and all transactions were carried on upon a fictitious basis. Sound policy required the resumption of specie payments at the earliest possible moment; but it was almost impossible to effect this without creating a financial panic. This was precipitated in the autumn of 1873 by the failure of Jay Cooke & Co., who had been extensive bankers and operators in government and railroad bonds. A general panic ensued, unparalleled in the history of the country. Heavy failures occurred in banking, mercantile, and manufacturing circles; trade was crippled, and a general stagnation followed. Real estate declined in value, and by the foreclosure of mortgages,

many saw all the savings of years swept away, and those who had laid up their money in savings-banks and life insurance companies were in many cases deprived of everything. Many cities and towns which had rashly undertaken improvements and issued bonds, became hopelessly involved, from the impossibility of raising money by taxation.

The unwise system forced on Louisiana by the Acts of Reconstruction continued to produce disastrous results. In an election for governor, McEnery and Kellogg both claimed to have been elected, and each proceeded to appoint officers. In many districts the two parties took up arms, and reports of murders and massacres were sent to the North by Republican officers. McEnery, who had the support of the white population, called out the militia, but President Grant espoused Kellogg's cause; he sent General Sheridan to Louisiana, and on the 13th of January, 1874, sent a special message to Congress advocating Kellogg's claim, and detailing the lawless doings of his opponents. Early in March, both Houses, by a strict party vote, recognized the Kellogg government, and, by what was called the Wheeler Compromise, a committee of the House of Representatives decided who were entitled to seats in the Legislature of the State of Louisiana. In pursuance of its decision, five members were removed from the Hall of a State Legislature by United States troops. The whole system was radically wrong, and the evil was only aggravated by Federal interference.

Under the administration of President Grant, a new system of managing Indian affairs was inaugurated; the selection of agents was given to some of the religious denominations, and the Society of Friends obtained a widespread control. The result proved disastrous. Fraud and oppression increased, and two Indian wars arose out of the troubles caused. The Nez Percés, who had always been a friendly tribe, lived in peace in the Wallowa Valley in Oregon, till an agent came. In time they were required to give up their lands and accept a temporary reservation, of which they could be dispossessed by the stroke of a pen. One band, known as Joseph's band, refused to join in the treaty, accept annuities, or leave their old homes. Their right was recognized, and President Grant in 1873 refused to interfere with them; but in 1875 troops were sent to expel them. A chief was arrested in a council held with them by General Howard, and the Indians under Chief Joseph yielded to force. While surrounded by soldiers, and on the march with their families and cattle they were attacked by white men. Then they began a warfare which lasted two months. Chief Joseph, though followed by General Howard, with General Crook on his right, and General Miles with another force in front, baffled them all, and surrendered at Bear Paw Mountain only to save his wounded and suffering. The terms of his surrender were shamefully violated, and the whole band transported to Indian

Territory. A more serious trouble arose with the Sioux Indians, who occupied the Black Hills in Dakota and Wyoming Territories. The land had been assured to them as a reservation, but gold was discovered there, and the attempts of miners to enter and of government surveyors to lay off the lands roused a hostile feeling, and the Sioux prepared for war. Government resolved to crush them at once. Early in 1876 a strong military force was sent into the Yellowstone country. It consisted of three columns under Generals Terry, Crooke, and Gibbon. Crooke met the Sioux under Sitting Bull on June 15th, but finding them too strong in numbers and arms, was compelled to retreat; General Custer with Terry's column formed a junction with Gibbon, and marched to the Big Horn river, taking the advance. Here he discovered a large Indian camp, and without waiting for Gibbon to come up prepared to attack them. He detached General Reno with several companies of cavalry to attack the camp on one side, while he led the main assault. One of the most sanguinary and disastrous engagements ensued. In this battle of the Little Horn, June 25th, Custer, an officer of great experience and bravery, was killed, with almost every man of his command. Reno, assailed in turn, reached a defensive position, and saved most of his detachment; but Sitting Bull, after his victory, though pursued, baffled the troops, and retreated into British territory, where this band of Sioux remained peaceably for about five years.



Sitting Bull.

Death was invading the highest circles of offices in our government. In a period of twenty years two Presidents were assassinated, and one Vice-President died. On the 22d of November, 1875, Vice-President Wilson, an earnest advocate of the abolition of slavery, died, and his decease, with that of Seward in 1872, Chase in 1873, and Sumner in the following year, removed from the Republican party several of its prominent leaders.

Americans all looked forward with pride to the year 1876, which would complete the first century of the existence of the United States as a republic. To celebrate so gratifying an event, it was resolved to open in the city of Philadelphia, where Congress signed the Declaration of Independence, an "International Exhibition of Arts, Manufactures, and products of the Soil and Mines." Congress passed an Act empowering the President to appoint

VIEW OF CENTENNIAL BUILDINGS.

a Commission from each State and Territory. The whole affair was organized with great judgment, and five elegant buildings were erected in Fairmount Park, Philadelphia, at a cost of nearly five millions of dollars: they comprised a main exhibition building, a machinery hall, an agricultural hall, and a horticultural hall, constructed mainly of glass and iron, so as to unite

FAIRMOUNT PARK, PHILADELPHIA.

light and strength. The fifth building, which was intended to be permanent, was erected of marble, and this was the Art Gallery. Foreign nations were invited to contribute their products, manufactures, and works of art. Thirty-six nations accepted the invitation, and to each, space was assigned in the buildings. Nothing had yet been seen in America to approach in interest and value this collection of the fruits of the world's industry, art, and talent. Here were seen in contrast the manufactures of all lands, enabling

men to compare and judge of the superiority in every branch, and affording to our own industrial workers opportunities for studying and imitating everything in which we could improve. The Exhibition was formally opened by the President of the United States on the 10th of May, 1876, in presence of the Emperor and Empress of Brazil, and the ambassadors of most nations in amity with the United States. The railroads of the country made arrangements to facilitate visitors in reaching Philadelphia, and the attendance rose to about ninety thousand a day.

On the 4th of July, 1876, Colorado was, after the usual stipulations, and on its adopting a constitution acceptable to Congress, and recognizing the Constitution of the United States as amended, admitted into the Union as the thirty-eighth State. The great mineral wealth of Colorado, and its advantages as a grazing State, seemed to promise a rapid increase of population. It was not, at the time, such as to demand its admission, or to entitle it to a representative, but it was, rather, a political move, in order to give one more Republican State, and, in fact, its three votes gave Hayes his majority of one over Tilden.

Far less gratifying to the country was the impeachment of a member of the President's cabinet, William W. Belknap, who, involved in corrupt practices, had resigned his high position of trust and honor, and was then arraigned before the Senate, on charges presented by the House of Representatives. Thirty-seven out of sixty members declared him guilty, but as this was not two-thirds of the body, he was acquitted.

This year was marked by great political feelings evoked by the approach of the time for another Presidential election. The differences in the Republican party had widened. The administration of President Grant had disappointed the country, which had expected much from a man who had displayed such remarkable military ability. But corruption and extravagance had prevailed, and the South, after a lapse of more than ten years since the close of the war, was still far from a condition of prosperity; with political institutions unsettled, subject to military interference, and with citizens embittered against each other. The friends of General Grant, however, strongly pressed his claims to a renomination, asking that he should be elected for a third term. As no previous President had ever sought this, the feeling of the country was decidedly against it. In the Republican Convention the leading candidates were, on the withdrawal of Grant, James G. Blaine of Maine, and Roscoe Conkling of New York. Their strength was too evenly balanced to allow the nomination of either, and the choice fell on Rutherford B. Hayes, Governor of Ohio, who became the Republican nominee for the Presidential chair, with William A. Wheeler of New York, as candidate for Vice-President. The Democratic Convention which met at St. Louis at the close of June, nominated Samuel J. Tilden of New York for President,

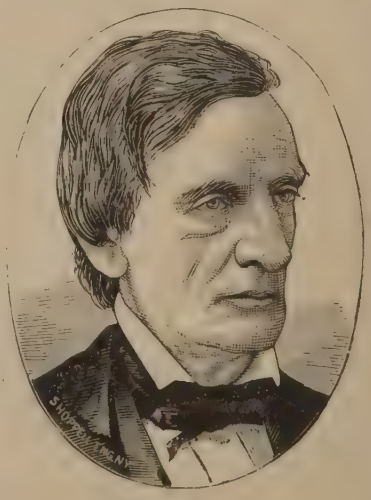
and Thomas A. Hendricks of Indiana, for Vice-President. A new party, favoring the issue by government of paper money to pay off the debt, and facilitate trade, and hence called Greenbackers, nominated Peter Cooper, of New York, and Samuel F. Cary of Ohio. The election showed an immense increase of strength in the Democratic party. Tilden carried all the Southern States by admitted majorities, except South Carolina, Florida, and Louisiana, which were claimed by both. Hayes carried all the Northern States, except Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, and Indiana. South Carolina, after an investigation of the returns by a committee, was conceded to Hayes; in Florida, all turned on one county, in which each party claimed a majority. In Louisiana the Returning Board excluded Democratic members, but Governor McEnery gave the Democratic Electors a certificate. To add to the difficulties of the situation, the United States Senate was Republican, and the House of Representatives Democratic, and the two Houses could not agree to a revision of the joint rule regulating the count. The Republicans claimed that the power to open and announce the returns was in the hands of a single man, the President of the Senate; while the Democrats claimed that the joint body could control the count. Fearing that Tilden would seek to be inaugurated by force, General Grant prepared to use the military power, and concerted with Governor Hartranft of Pennsylvania to use the militia of that State and a political organization, "The Grand Army of the Republic." Secretary Cameron summoned General Sherman, and preparations were made to prevent Tilden's obtaining the Presidency. After conferences between the leading men of the two parties, an Electoral Commission Act was passed by Congress, January 29, 1877, by which the decision of all questions as to returns from any State were to be decided by a commission consisting of five members from each house, and five associate justices of the Supreme Court of the United States. This commission of fifteen, when organized, consisted of eight Republicans and seven Democrats, and acted on strict party principles. By a vote of eight to seven, an irregular return was accepted from Louisiana, and every disputed vote was assigned to Hayes, who was declared duly elected President of the United States by a majority of one vote.

The State of Maryland demanded the passage of an Act to submit the whole case to the Supreme Court; but Congress decided that the Forty-fourth Congress having counted the vote, there was no power in any subsequent Congress to reverse its declaration that Hayes and Wheeler were elected.

CHAPTER III.

CONCILIATION AND PROGRESS.

IN assuming the Presidency, Hayes selected for his cabinet, William M. Evarts of New York, as Secretary of State; John Sherman of Ohio, as Secretary of the Treasury; George W. McCrary of Iowa, as Secretary of War; Richard W. Thompson of Indiana, as Secretary of the Navy; Carl Schurz of Missouri, Secretary of the Interior; David M. Key of Tennessee, Postmaster-General, and Charles Devins of Massachusetts, Attorney-General. His policy at first was marked by a disposition to conciliate the Southern States, and he removed one cause of animosity against the North and of local trouble by withdrawing the troops which the late administration had used so frequently and uselessly. The State government in Louisiana, claimed by the Republicans, when deprived of military support, at once succumbed; and Hayes recognized that claimed by the Democrats. This aroused a strong feeling against him among one section of the Republicans, led by Senators Conkling, Cameron, and Logan. He recoiled, therefore, from going further, and condemning the use of the troops and of posses under United States marshals at elections.



WM. M. EVARTS.

The gradual contraction which preceded the resumption of specie payments was not without some serious results. Wages were lowered, and thousands were thrown out of employment. In Maryland, the firemen and brakemen on freight trains began a strike against a proposed reduction of wages; the movement spread to Pennsylvania and other States, and soon became general. The strikers refused to work, or to permit others to run the trains, so that travel and transportation throughout a large extent of country were virtually arrested. Riots ensued, and the military forces were called out to protect property and restore order.

At Pittsburgh the mob resisted the militia, and destroyed railroad stations, locomotives, trains of cars, and merchandise to the amount of six millions of dollars, and many lives were lost before the violence of the mob was suppressed. Rioting occurred at several other points from Reading and Scranton in the East to Chicago and St. Louis in the West. It was not till the expiration of three weeks that State and National troops succeeded in completely restoring peace and order.

Although Mr. Hayes had shown his desire to avoid, if possible, the employment of military in the South, there was, on the part of many, a demand for a definite legal enactment taking from the Executive the power to employ the army during elections. When Congress met at the close of the year 1877, the Democrats, for the first time since 1861, were powerful enough to modify the legislation of the country. The use of the military and the arbitrary arrest of electors by United States marshals at the polls were, in their eyes, a grievance that required distinct and positive condemnation by law. The session ended without any appropriation being made for the maintenance of the army at all. As this left the army subject to be disbanded, President Hayes called an extra session of Congress in October; but nothing was effected, and when the regular session began in December, he called attention to organizations in the South for overawing the negroes, and again urged the passage of the usual appropriation bills. It was not, however, till June that a judicial expenses bill passed, but as it contained clauses forbidding the use of the money to pay deputy marshals at elections, it was vetoed by the President.

A similar course was adopted in the following year, the Democrats holding a majority, passing bills which the President vetoed, but which they were unable to pass again over his veto, inasmuch as they had not the two-thirds required by the Constitution. Their conduct was far from politic, and they were compelled ultimately to recede from the position they had taken, and pass such bills as the President could approve. The result was that the Republicans throughout the country were aroused, the popularity of Mr. Hayes increased among them, and the more radical portion of the party gained new strength. The attempt to pass a bill directly revoking that passed during the war, under which the army could be employed to insure the freedom of elections, was also defeated by a Presidential veto.

This unwise agitation enabled designing men to excite widespread alarm through the negroes in the South, and in 1879 there was a general movement in the Carolinas and in the States on the Mississippi, thousands of negroes of all ages starting for the North, especially for the States of Kansas and Indiana. They came in such numbers, and frequently in such want, that measures had to be taken for their relief and gradual scattering to parts where they might be enabled to earn their livelihood. Investigation failed

to trace the movement to its source, and if it was initiated with the view of swelling the party vote in some Northern States, it proved futile. A similar movement of negroes from South Carolina to Arkansas occurred subsequently, but in both cases the South learned that the negro labor was essential to its prosperity, and could not easily be replaced.

After the great financial panic the condition of the country steadily improved, and on the first day of January, 1879, payment in specie was resumed by the government and by the banks throughout the country. Then, for the first time in nearly eighteen years, a gold dollar and a dollar in paper were of equal value. This desirable result was attained without any of the disastrous consequences which had been foretold by some, and which had been the great argument of the Greenback or Paper Money Party.

In 1879 an outbreak occurred among the Ute Indians, due in no small degree to the unwise exercise by an Indian agent of the arbitrary powers vested in him by law and custom. The Utes rose on Meeker, then agent, killed him, and subjected his family to great cruelty and hardship. A detachment of United States troops under Major Thornburgh, sent to repress the Indians, was attacked, the commander and ten of his men slain, and the rest so closely hemmed in, that they had great difficulty in holding out till relief was sent. The tribe was soon reduced to submission.

Many countries have by war and mismanagement accumulated vast national debts, but that of the United States seemed unparalleled, and it was supposed would remain for years, perhaps centuries, a heavy burden on the country. The result was, however, most gratifying. Although economy and wisdom had not always guided the management of public affairs, the debt was steadily reduced from two thousand eight hundred millions of dollars, to which it had swollen on the 1st of January, 1866, to two thousand millions on the 1st of January 1881, no less than eight hundred millions of dollars having been paid off in fifteen years. This rapid liquidation of the debt raised the national credit, so that government was enabled to refund much of the outstanding debt at a lower rate of interest, the United States bonds finding ready sale though bearing only four, or four and a half per cent interest. One of Hayes' last acts was to veto a bill for funding the debt at three per cent, the President deeming some parts of the bill dangerous.

During the years 1878 and 1879 the yellow fever created great ravages in the lower part of the Mississippi valley, especially in New Orleans, Vicksburg, and Memphis. All intercourse with the infected places was suspended, many of the inhabitants fled, business ceased, and the greatest distress prevailed among the poor. Camps were formed outside the cities in healthy spots, where many took refuge; physicians and clergymen hastened

from other parts to give their services; and the Howard Association, and several sisterhoods nobly devoted themselves to nursing the sick and dying.

The increasing influx of Chinese into California, into which they were brought by some large commercial companies—really as slaves—excited discontent and alarm. These immigrants did not come to settle permanently in this country and mingle with the rest of the population. They came with their heathen worship, a low grade of morality, few of the men being married, and scarcely any women of decent character coming at all. Leprosy and other disgusting diseases were prevalent among these people. Moreover, the small pittance for which they were willing to work excited the hostility of workmen in many trades, and demagogues formed a political party opposed to further immigration of Chinese. Laws were passed in California to carry out this view, and a law with a similar object was carried through both Houses of Congress, but was vetoed by President Hayes, as conflicting with the treaty between China and the United States. During the excitement many acts of violence were perpetrated on the Chinese, and in consequence numbers of them left that State and scattered through the country. Commissioners were at once sent to China to negotiate a new treaty allowing our government to prevent the importation of Chinese coolies. This led to modifications agreed upon at Pekin, in 1881.

James G. Blaine.

In the Republican Convention which assembled at Chicago in June, 1880, a strong effort was made to nominate General Grant for a third term. Three hundred and five delegates, with scarcely an exception, voted steadily for him for more than thirty ballots; the opposition divided their votes chiefly between James G. Blaine and John Sherman, till, finding it impossible to elect either, and resolved to exclude Grant, the friends of those candidates united on James A. Garfield, who, on the thirty-sixth ballot, received three hundred and ninety-nine votes. To conciliate the Grant or Stalwart section of the party, the Convention then nominated for Vice-President Chester A. Arthur of New York. The Democratic Convention which met at Cincinnati in June, on the second ballot nominated General W. S. Hancock for President, and W. H. English of Indiana for Vice-President. In the ensuing canvass the Stalwarts showed little interest in the election, and the chances of Garfield's election seemed

very slight, when at last a concert of action was reached. In the Democratic party, especially in New York State, a violent division arose, and in the election in November, that State was carried by the Republicans. This gave Garfield and Arthur two hundred and fourteen votes, and Hancock and English only one hundred and fifty-five votes in the Electoral College, although the popular vote stood 4,442,950 for Garfield; 4,442,635 for Hancock. The election was remarkably a sectional one, the Southern States going for Hancock, while all the rest, except New Jersey in the East, and Nevada and California on the West, cast their vote for Garfield.

Notwithstanding the peril to the country at the election of Hayes, no law had been passed to avoid similar difficulties, but on Feb. 4, 1881, the Senate adopted a resolution declaring that the President of the Senate had no constitutional right to count the votes of electors for President and Vice-President, so as to determine what votes shall be received and counted, and what votes shall be rejected. The House of Representatives concurred, but no steps were taken to pass a law to meet the case.

CHESTER A. ARTHUR.

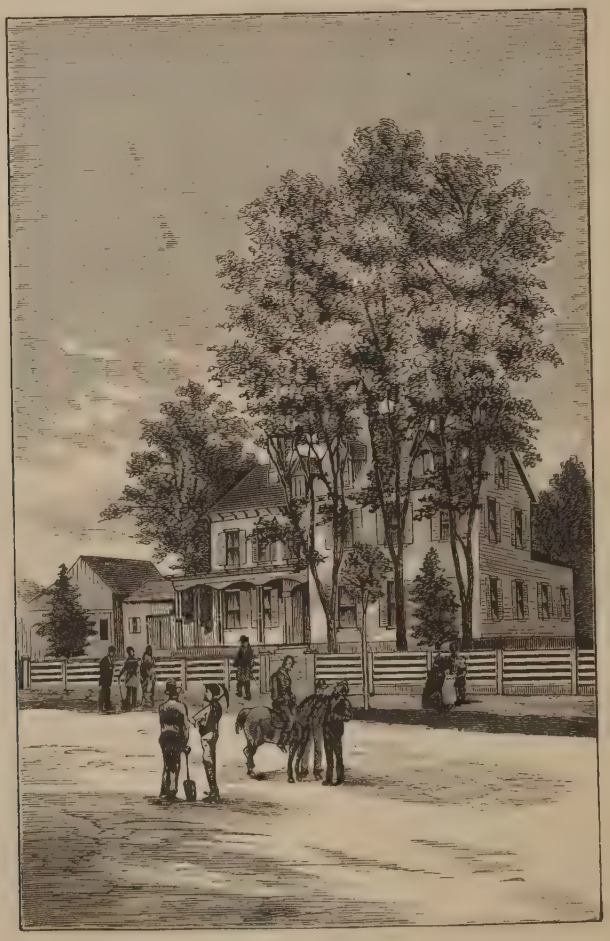
The election of James A. Garfield, when the votes came to be counted in Congress, was recognized by both parties, and no question was raised as to the result. The Democrats accepted their defeat, but in the Republican party itself there was a breach between the two sections which aroused great bitterness of feeling. The organization of the Senate was delayed by a contest between the two great bodies in regard to the appointment of the officers of that house. The President's nominations of his cabinet were then confirmed. James G. Blaine became Secretary of State; William Windom of Minnesota, Secretary of the Treasury; William H. Hunt of Louisiana, Secretary of the Navy; Robert F. Lincoln of Illinois, Secretary of War; Wayne McVeagh of Pennsylvania, Attorney-General; Thomas L. James of New York, Postmaster-General; and Samuel J. Kirkwood of Ohio, Secretary of the Interior.

In the appointment of Federal officers in New York, Roscoe Conkling,

Senator from that State, claimed the right to propose nominees, and insisted on filling all positions with persons belonging to the radical or stalwart branch of the party, to the exclusion of those who had supported Blaine or Garfield himself in the last convention. The President declined to yield passively, and, withholding the names proposed by the Senator from New York, sent in to the Senate the name of Judge Robertson for Collector of the Port of New York. Vice-President Arthur, with the New York Senators, remonstrated, but Garfield was firm, and Conkling, failing to defeat the nomination in the Senate, resigned his seat in that body, March 17th, 1881, his course being followed by his associate, Senator Platt. They anticipated being almost certainly re-elected by the legislature of their State, but found that the opposition was strong and determined. Vice-President Arthur went on from Washington to aid their cause, and a general excitement prevailed throughout the country. The struggle ended in the defeat of Conkling, and the election of Miller and Lapham as Senators from New York. A somewhat similar struggle in Pennsylvania widened the breach between the two divisions of the Republican party.

This feeling, and the lawlessness of word and thought which grew out of it, soon bore terrible and startling fruit. A man of depraved life, visionary and self-conceited to the verge of insanity, by name Charles J. Guiteau, aspired to be appointed Minister to Austria. Failing to obtain a recognition of his services, he resolved to make away with the President, so as to raise Mr. Arthur to the Presidency, avowing himself a stalwart of the stalwarts. He more than once laid plans to shoot Mr. Garfield. On the 2d of July, as the President entered the Baltimore and Potomac Railroad station in Washington, in order to take a special train to New England, where he proposed to visit the college at which he had been graduated, Guiteau approached and fired two pistol-shots at him. One ball entered the President's body near the spine, and struck his ribs in its course. Mr. Garfield fell, and was at once placed on a couch and a surgeon summoned. The ball could not be found, and he was removed with the utmost care to the Executive Mansion. Eminent surgeons were called in to save if possible the life of the President, and the country watched with anxiety the bulletins announcing the condition of the illustrious patient. The interest extended to Europe, and expressions of sympathy and hope came from all countries. The case baffled the surgeons, who failed to trace the real course of the ball, or relieve the sufferer. He gradually sank, and as a removal to Long Branch failed to recruit his system, he expired on the night of the 19th of September. The Queen of England, and personages of rank in Europe, sent their words of sympathy to the afflicted widow, and the country, without distinction of party, united in mourning the untimely fate of their Chief Magistrate.

President Garfield had performed some official acts after receiving his fatal wound, and signed an important extradition paper on the 10th of July; but at a later period the question arose whether there existed such "inability to discharge the powers and duties" of his office, as caused it to devolve under the Constitution on the Vice-President. The position was a



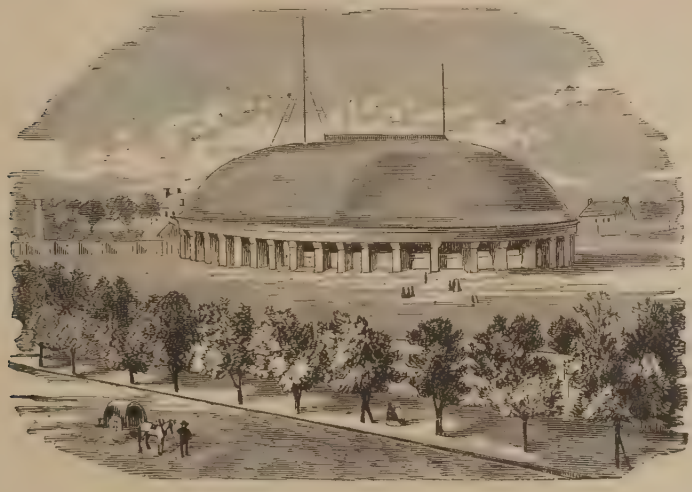
GARFIELD'S HOME.

delicate one, inasmuch as Mr. Arthur's views had been so much at variance with those entertained by the President. He took no steps to claim any right, and the public business was conducted through the Cabinet. On the death of the President, Mr. Arthur became at once President of the United States. On receiving the intelligence, he took the oath of office before a

J. A. Garfield

local judge, and proceeding to Washington, renewed it before the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. On assuming the administration of government, he requested the members of the cabinet to retain their positions, but he gradually formed a new one more in harmony with his views, Frederick W. Frelinghuysen of New Jersey being Secretary of State.

After the death of Mr. Garfield, Guiteau was indicted and brought to trial. The feeling against him was so intense, that attempts were made to kill him as he was conveyed through the streets, and a soldier on guard attempted to shoot him in his cell. On the trial, the defence of insanity was interposed, and every latitude given to the accused, whose violence during the trial was extreme. He was convicted, sentenced, and executed.



Mormon Tabernacle at Salt Lake City.

By the census of 1880 the total population of the United States was ascertained to be 50,155,774. According to the Constitution it became necessary to fix the numbers of representatives in the House, and apportion them among the States, according to their population. The Act passed February 25, 1882, established the number of members of the House of Representatives at three hundred and twenty-five. Twenty-two States gained in representation, thirteen retained their old number, and three New England States, Maine, New Hampshire, and Vermont, each lost one representative.

The Territory of Utah had been occupied by the strange religious body, the Mormons, founded by Joseph Smith, a pretended prophet, who was killed in Illinois. His followers, driven from that State and from Missouri,

took refuge in what was then a remote and unattractive part of the country. Here they were left, virtually to form their own government. They attempted to form the State of Deseret, but Congress established the Territory of Utah, and for a time made Brigham Young the head of the Mormon church, governor of the Territory. All members of the legislature were Mormons, and the laws were frequently in defiance of those of the United States. Polygamy was established, and all the leading men had several wives. When the railroads to California brought Utah in the line of travel, and persons who were not Mormons sought to settle in the Territory, the condition of Utah became a question of importance.

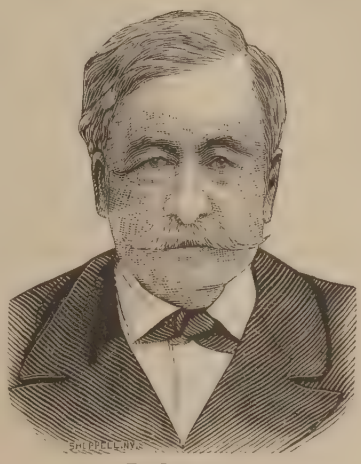
Attempts made to put a stop to polygamy were defeated by the Mormons, and in 1882 a new and well-planned effort was made to suppress it. An Act introduced by Senator Edmunds was passed, March 23d, 1882. As the marriages to the second and subsequent wives were performed by a secret rite, it had been found impossible to prove them, and the guilty escaped. By this Act the cohabiting with several women was made punishable, without proving the subsequent marriages. Moreover, every polygamist, or person favoring polygamy, can be challenged as a juror in any trial for polygamy. Polygamists, and women living with them, are excluded from voting, and from holding any office in the Territory. That the innocent offspring of the marriages contracted previous to the Act might not be made to suffer, all children born of them before January 1, 1883, were to be deemed legitimate. The President was invested with the power of granting an amnesty to offenders who abandoned their former reprehensible mode of life.

One of the projects of the Garfield administration was the calling of a Congress of the different States in North and South America, in order to adjust international questions, and prevent the constant wars and revolutions that are the bane of Spanish America. An invitation to the various Republics to meet in Congress in November, 1882, was sent out by Mr. Blaine after the accession of President Arthur, but it was revoked by Mr. Frelinghuysen, when he assumed the portfolio of the Department of State. Chili had, in a recent war, humbled Bolivia and overrun Peru, which no longer had a recognized government. The action of the American minister in Peru had not been very judicious, and suspicions existed of fraudulent claims to be enforced by the authority of the United States.

This union of the American republics was deemed all the more necessary from the attempt made by De Lesseps, the projector of the Suez Canal, to cut a ship-canal across the Isthmus of Panama. Capital, to a certain extent, was readily subscribed in France, but his project found no favor in the United States, and all parties agreed that no such canal could be permitted, unless it was under the control of our government. De Lesseps

visited the United States, but failed to remove the objections entertained, and to induce American capitalists to favor the undertaking. The whole matter was discussed in diplomatic correspondence with Great Britain, but no concert of action among the leading powers was attained. De Lesseps finally began operations on the isthmus, but new difficulties arose, and owing to the deadly influence of the climate, the loss of life was enormous. The activity of the projectors declined, and the work was really abandoned.

The necessity of a canal at Panama, or elsewhere, as a channel of communication between the Atlantic and Pacific States, diminished as the railroad system of the country developed, and successive lines of road were completed across the country. The general desire for such lines led Congress to grant to these corporations immense quantities of public lands, and to aid them by other means. The extravagant and lavish grants of the public domain at last excited the attention of the people, and were generally condemned. Steps were then taken to reclaim all lands where the terms of the grant had not been carried out. As the system of railroads in the south-west developed, the advantage of running roads into Mexico became apparent. The government of that republic readily made grants of land and money to favor the plan, and during the administration of President Arthur the lines connecting the great cities of the United States and Mexico were rapidly advanced.



De Lesseps.

The increasing population of the Territories by immigration from abroad, developing their mineral and agricultural resources, made several of them fit for admission as States. Prominent among these was New Mexico, which was acquired by the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848. It had, in 1880, a population of about one hundred and twenty thousand; but the people of New Mexico, although nearly forty years under the American flag, had never been allowed to vote in a Presidential election, or to be represented in Congress. Their prayer for admission was seriously brought before Congress in 1874, but lay dormant for nearly ten years. The Territory of Dakota, which had attained a population of one hundred and seventy-five thousand in 1882, solicited division, and the admission of

the southern and more populous part as a State, the rest to remain as a Territory, under the name of North Dakota. Bills have been introduced for admitting Washington, organized as a Territory in 1853, and Wyoming, organized in 1868. The admission of Utah will undoubtedly be delayed till the question of polygamy is finally settled; and, to render the power of the Mormon church less absolute, it has been proposed to divide the present area among adjoining Territories. The admission of States does not always depend on the actual population, but on other grounds, and is sometimes guided by mere political considerations. In some cases, as in that of Nevada, it has been manifestly premature. Alaska, detached from the rest of the Republic, is only just about to receive an organized Territorial government.

The progress of a great nation from a few straggling settlements of white men on a strange soil, amid distrustful savages, to a degree of power and prosperity almost unequaled in the annals of the past, or in the present condition of the world, has been traced step by step. Now, when every state in the Old World is honeycombed by discontent, with masses of the population, led by men of education and ability, seeking to destroy not only the existing governments, but the whole social fabric; when the most powerful armies and fleets, with all the resources of human science, fail to give security to thrones or governments, the United States, with but the shadow of an army or navy, enjoys profound peace; prosperity is within the reach of all, so that a quarter of a million of discontented Europeans arriving annually, are absorbed into the mass of the people, and without any effort to mould or change them, become in a few years contented and happy citizens, contributing to the general welfare, and attached to the country and the institutions which have proved so beneficent. The constant assimilation of millions of men from countries widely differing in language, political and social training, and the blending of all into one people, with a character, an energy, and an activity of its own, where all trace of origin is rapidly lost, is one of the striking marks of the influence of an overruling Providence in shaping the destinies of America, and should convince us that if true to itself and to Providence, there is a future before it to which the history of mankind affords no parallel.